SCOTLAND
from the best
AUTHORITIES
References to the Shires.
Edinburgh.
2 Haddington.
3 Merse. anciently Berwick.
4 Roxborough.
5 Selkirk.
6 Peebles.
7 Lanerk.
8 Dumfries.
9 Wigtoun.
10 Kircudbright.
11 Air.
12 Dumbarton.
13 Bute.
14 Caithness.
15 Renfrew.
16 Stirling.
17 Linlithgow.
18 Argyle.
19 Perth.
20 Kinkardin or Mearn.
21 Aberdeen.
22 Inverness.
23 Nairne.
24 Cromartie.
25 Fife.
26 Angus, or Forfar.
27 Bamff.
28 Sutherland.
29 Clacmannan.
30 Kinross.
31 Ross.
32 Murray, or Elgin.
33 Orkney.
NORTHERN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH OCEAN
Orkney Isles
Shetland Isles
Mainland Id.
Western Isles
Part of Ross Shire
Part of Inverness Shire
Pentland Firth
Dornock Firth
Murray Firth
Firth of Tay
Firth of Forth
Solway Firth
North Channel
Lewis Isle
Harris
Skye
Mull Isle
Isla Ile
Jura Sound
Cantire
Inverness
Nairne
Elgin
Bamff
Fort Augustus
Fort William
Dingwall
Wick
Perth
Stirling
Dundee
St. Andrews
Forfar
Montrose
New Aberdeen
Old Aberdeen
Peterhead
EDINBURGH
Dunbar
Haddington
Berwick upon Tweed
Jedburgh
Selkirk
Peebles
Lanerk
Hamilton
Dumbarton
Renfrew
Air
Campbeltown
Dumfries
Wigtoun
Carlisle
Longtown
Alnwick
Hexham
Durham
Tiree
Col I.
Barra Id.
St. Kilda
Nth. Uist I.
St. Uist Ile
Rona I.
Sule Skerry
Fair I.
Fula I.
Unst I.
Common Scotch Miles
British Statute Miles
Longitude West from London
West Longitude

Serfojee Rajah. 1819

A

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

View of the World:

EXHIBITING

A COMPLETE DELINEATION OF THE

NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL FEATURES

OF

EACH COUNTRY;

AND A SUCCINCT NARRATIVE OF

THE ORIGIN OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS, THEIR POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS, AND PROGRESS IN ARTS, SCIENCES, LITERATURE, COMMERCE, &c.

The whole comprising all that is important in the Geography of the Globe and the History of Mankind.

BY JOHN BIGLAND,

Author of

"LETTERS ON ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY," "ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS," &c. &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW; VERNOR, HOOD, AND SHARPE, POULTRY; AND J. CUNDEE, IVY-LANE.

1810.

A

VIEW OF THE WORLD.

SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

Name—Situation—Extent—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Metals and Minerals—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Animal Productions—Natural and artificial Curiosities.

SCOTLAND, anciently named Caledonia, by which appellation it is designated in the luminous pages of Tacitus, is situated between 55° and 58° 40′ north latitude, and between 1° and 6° west longitude; being about 250 miles in length from north to south, with a very irregular breadth, in some parts extremely narrow, and no where exceeding 160 miles. The content its surface has been computed at 27,793 square miles, considerably more than half of that of England; and the population being estimated at 1,600,000, the proportion of the inhabitants to the soil is only fifty-seven for a square mile. This defect of population is chiefly owing to the mountainous nature of the country, of which a very great part is wholly unfit for cultivation, and of little value for pasturage.

Face of the country.]—The face of the country is extremely diversified, and the popular distinction of highlands and lowlands is expressive of the contrast

between the mountainous and the level part. The lowlands are a champaign rather than a flat country, in general fertile, and bearing a strong resemblance to England; but the highlands are strikingly picturesque, consisting of high and barren mountains running in every direction, indented and intersected with deep valleys and lakes, and presenting all the romantic forms into which the combination and intermixture of such objects can be thrown. One beautiful and interesting feature, however, is almost universally wanted in the landscapes of Scotland. The almost total absence of wood gives to nature a kind of forlorn aspect. A late elegant writer, whose prejudices against the Scottish nation we cannot but condemn; but whose picture of the indelible features of nature, merits regard, describes, in a lively manner, the impression which the nudity of the highlands makes on a stranger, where immense masses of mountains, and extensive heaths, without a tree or a shrub to relieve the eye in ranging over the wide and desolate waste, excite the gloomy idea of "hopeless sterility."* By a tourist from the southern parts of the island, two-thirds of the whole surface of Scotland would be denominated a mountainous country; but the appellation of highlands is more strictly confined to the counties of Ross, Sutherland, Caithness and Argyle, with the western parts of Perthshire and Inverness.† In proceeding from the south-east, a considerable tract of plain, extending to the foot of the mountains, gives to the entrance of the highlands near Dunkeld a majestic appearance.

Mountains.]—The mountains, which intersect the country in various directions, and occupy so great a

* Dr. Johnson's Tour to the Highlands.

† Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 175.

part

part of its surface, are the principal distinctive feature of Scotland, and form a series of topographical scenery too much diversified to admit of a particular description. The principal chains are the Grampian hills, running from east to west almost the whole breadth of the country, from near Aberdeen to Cowal in the county of Argyle; forming, in their western range, the southern boundary of the highlands, and famous in history for the last stand and final overthrow of Galgacus, with his brave Caledonians; secondly, the Pentland hills, which, running through Lothian, join those of Tweedale; and, thirdly, Lammar Muir, extending from near the eastern coast westward, through the Merse. The province of Galloway presents an assemblage of mountainous eminences, which, according to General Roy, form with those of Cheviot on the north-east a connected chain. The other highland mountains scarcely admit of an arrangement in distinct chains or groupes; and we shall content ourselves with mentioning some of the most remarkable. Ben Nevis is the highest mountain in Britain, its elevation being estimated at 1450 yards above the level of the sea, which is, however, little more than one-fourth of the height of Mont Blanc, in Switzerland, the most elevated peak of the Alps. The north-east side of Ben Nevis presents a stupendous precipice of 500 yards, according to some accounts, and nearly perpendicular. The prospect from the summit of this mountain is grand, exhibiting most of the western highlands, and comprising an extent of about eighty miles.* The superior half is almost destitute of vegetation. The summit is flat. Snow remains throughout the year in the crevices; but here are no glaciers, or

* Statistic. Acc. vol. 8, p. 414.

other magnificent Alpine features. This mountain, with the high and desert moor extending twenty miles to the east, seems to be the *Dorsum Britanniæ* of ancient writers. To the north-west of Ben Nevis, and near Fort Augustus, is the long mountain of Corriarok, over which a military road has been made in a zigzag direction. About thirty miles eastward, Cairngorm, 1350 yards in perpendicular height, presents itself clothed with almost perpetual snow. Benibourd, although generally reckoned considerably lower, is, by Mr. Aikin, supposed to be higher than Cairngorm, as it is always covered with snow; which, at the elevation of about 1330 yards, remains all the year in this country. In that division of the highlands which lies beyond Loch Linny and Loch Ness, the mountains are still more numerous, but of inferior height; and General Roy says, that a part of the north-west coast, extending from Loch Inchard twenty-four miles to the south, and about ten miles within land, presents a most singular appearance, as if mountains had been broken in pieces, and small lakes interspersed among the fragments. Ben Wevis, 1270 yards high, is the most elevated point in this part of the highlands. The savage scenery of the north-west of Scotland is thus described by an intelligent traveller: "A wide extent of country lay before us, and exhibited a most august picture of forlorn nature. The prospect was altogether immense, but wild and desolate beyond conception. The mountains presented nothing to view but heath and rock; between them formless lakes and pools, dark with shades thrown from prodigious precipices, gave grandeur to the wilderness in its most gloomy forms."* These desolate regions yet remain

* Cordiner's Letter to Pennant.

unexplored by tourists, and unknown to geographical description.

Rivers.]—In Scotland the rivers are a geographical feature of less natural grandeur, and less political or commercial importance, than in many other countries. Their waters are in general clear and transparent, and their course rapid; but, from the narrow extent of the country, necessarily of inconsiderable length in comparison of some of those in the southern part of the island.

The three principal rivers of Scotland are the Forth, the Clyde, and the Tay. The chief source of the Forth is from the mountain of Ben Lomond, or rather from two lakes in its vicinity. The stream of Goudie joins it from the lake of Monteith; and the river Teith, fed by the lakes of Kettering, Lubnaig, and others, swells it into a noble stream, about four miles above Sterling.

The Clyde rises from the Dair water in the extremity of Lanarkshire, and takes first a northerly and afterwards a westerly direction. Having the great mercantile city of Glasgow seated on its banks, it may claim a commercial pre-eminence over all the other rivers of Scotland. The number of vessels belonging to the Clyde in 1790 was 476, and their tonnage 46,581, which was computed at 60,000 before the commencement of the American war.

The Tay has its principal source in the lake of the same name; and is soon joined by the Lyon, and afterwards by the united streams of the Tarf, the Garry, and the Tumel. About nine miles to the north of Perth, the Ilay and the Ericht contribute to swell the Tay; which, after passing that city, and receiving a further augmentation from the waters of the Ern, spreads into a wide estuary. Next in consequence

to these, is the Tweed, celebrated in pastoral song; which, having received the Teviot from the south, falls into the sea at Berwick. The Dee is a considerable and placid stream, which, issuing from the mountains of Scairsoch and running almost in a due easterly direction to Aberdeen, scarcely yields to the Tweed in pastoral celebrity, To these might be added many others of inferior note, and of too little importance to merit a particular description; while a dry list of names would be neither interesting nor instructive.

Canals.]—In respect of artificial canals, Scotland exhibits at least one grand specimen, in that which connects the Forth and the Clyde. The dimensions are much superior to those of any work of the same kind of the southern parts of Britain, the depth being seven feet, the width, at the surface, fifty-six feet, the locks seventy-five feet long, and their gates twenty feet wide. In a tract of ten miles, it is raised by twenty locks to the amazing height of 155 feet above the medium sea-mark. In the fourth mile, there are ten locks and a fine aqueduct bridge, which crosses the great road leading from Edinburgh to Glasgow. The expence of this mile amounted to 18,000*l.* At Kirkintulloch the canal is carried over the water of Logie, on an aqueduct bridge, the arch of which is ninety feet wide, and considered as a capital piece of masonry.* In the whole extent of the canal, there are eighteen drawbridges, and fifteen aqueduct bridges of considerable size, besides small ones and tunnels. One reservoir for supplying it with water is above twenty-four feet deep, and covers a surface of fifty acres; another occupies seventy acres, and is banked

* Philips quoted by Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 172.

up at the sluice, twenty-two feet: the former of these is near Kilsyth, and the latter seven miles north of Glasgow. The precise length of the canal is thirty-five miles. On the 28th of July, 1790, it was opened, and the communication from sea to sea completely effected;* no work of the kind can be more ably finished; and it may be considered as a master-piece of inland navigation.

Lakes.]—The numerous and beautiful lakes interspersed throughout its mountainous tracts, constitute a very striking feature in the aspect of Scotland. Among these, the chief in extent and beauty, is Loch Lomond, studded with romantic islands and adorned with picturesque shores.† The depth of this lake, in the southern part, is not more than twenty fathoms, but in the northern creek, near the fort of Ben Lomond, it is increased to seventy, and in some places to eighty. At the time of the earthquake at Lisbon, A.D. 1755, the waters of this lake were agitated, in an extraordinary manner, exhibiting a natural phœnomenon, for which it is difficult to account. The lakes of Kettering, Chroin, Ard, Achray, Vanachor, and Lubnaig, all to the east of Loch Lomond, form a curious assemblage, and are surrounded with picturesque scenes, consisting of hills and rocks of romantic appearance and distorted forms, as if nature had there undergone some violent convulsion; but many of these are covered with heath and ornamented even to the summits with birch. The lake of Monteith is about five miles in circumference, and decorated with two woody isles, of which one

* Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 173.

† The islands at least twenty-four in number, Murray, p. 377.

presents the ruins of a monastery, and the other those of a castle belonging to the ancient Earls of Monteith. Lake Broome forming a noble bay, studded with islands, extends about twelve miles into the country.* Of all the lakes of the western highlands, Loch Awe, in Argyleshire, is the most considerable in extent, being about thirty miles long and from one to two in breadth, interspersed with a number of small woody isles, one of which exhibits the ruins of a monastery, and another those of an ancient fortress, the residence of the honourable family of the Campbel's, of Loch Awe, afterwards Dukes of Argyle. Loch Ness is remarkable for its depth, which varies from 60 to 135 fathoms. This lake, as well as Loch Lomond, was agitated in a singular manner at the time of the earthquake at Lisbon. It never freezes, a circumstance which is commonly attributed to its great depth. It is well stored with excellent trout. Indeed, almost all the Scottish lakes abound with fish of various kinds. Some of them are stocked with trout, some with salmon and trout, and others only with pike. A variety of lakes, besides those already mentioned, might be enumerated, as the county of Galloway presents several of the most picturesque beauty, and the mountainous parts of Scotland, in general, are interspersed with this kind of scenery. Several of them, however, especially in the northern parts, have not been celebrated nor probably visited by tourists.

Mineralogy.]—Among the metals and minerals of Scotland, lead, iron, and coal may be considered as the principal. Both gold and silver have been found, but in very small quantities. The lead mines are chiefly in Lanarkshire and the county of Dumfries;

* Knox, 2, p. 465.--Ap. Pinkerton.

but

but some small veins are found in Arran. Iron is met with in various parts; but that of Carron, an argillaceous iron stone, externally of a blueish grey and internally of a dark yellow colour, is the most generally known.* Coal abounds principally in the Lothians and in Fifeshire: it extends also into Argyleshire. The coal mines have been worked through a succession of ages, and may be traced as far back as to the twelfth century. The mountains of Scotland consist of a great variety of materials, and would afford a wide field of research to the mineralogist and the lapidary. The Ochil hills are remarkable for their singular agates and chalcedonies; and many parts of the highlands contain white marble and beautiful granite. Ben Nevis and other mountains in that quarter are chiefly composed of an elegant kind of granite, in which the pale rose and yellowish colours are finely intermixed in various shades.† Ben Nevis in particular is, according to Mr. Williams,‡ one solid mass of this beautiful stone, which he traced at the base for the space of four miles, along the course of a rivulet. The height of this mass he computes at 1200 yards, and above it, he says, are stratified rocks, the nature of which he does not explain; but asserts that those on the summit exceed wrought iron in hardness. The mineral waters of Scotland are numerous; but they have not acquired much celebrity, a circumstance which may be in a great measure attributed to the remoteness of their situation from London and the southern parts of the island. The

* Kirwan Min. vol. 2, p. 174.

† Williams's Min. Kingd. vol. 2, p. 13.

‡ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 63.

most remarkable are those of Moffat in the south, and of Peterhead in the north.

Soil.]—It is scarcely necessary to say, that in a country of so diversified an aspect, the soil must be exceedingly various. The highlands, in general, present a picture of extreme sterility; but many parts of the lowlands, especially the Lothians and Fifeshire, are scarcely less fertile than the best parts of England.

Climate.]—The climate of Scotland may be easily estimated from it northern situation and its mountainous aspect. In the eastern parts, the atmosphere is less humid than that of England, as the western mountains arrest the progress of the vapours from the Atlantic. On the other hand, the western counties are deluged with violent and long continued rains, an additional, and indeed, in many cases an insuperable obstacle to the advancement of agriculture.* The winter is more remarkable for the abundance of rain and snow than for the intenseness of the frost; but in summer the solar rays are powerfully reflected in the valleys between the mountains, so as sometimes to occasion a phœnomenon of glittering particles, which seem to swim before the eyes. These observations chiefly apply to the northern and western parts. In the east and south, the climate differs little from that of Northumberland.

Vegetable Productions.]—In viewing the vegetable appearance of Scotland, it will suffice to exhibit the

* "The highlands are unfit for tillage, and for want of coal improper for manufactures." Lord Selkirk, Observations on the Highlands, p. 30—31—36.—In some parts scarcely ever a day passes without rain. Mrs. Murray's Guide to Scotland, p. 368.

features

features, in which it agrees with or differs from that of England. In the lowlands the productions are nearly the same as in the southern parts of Britain; and in some places the crops of every kind of grain are abundant. In Fifeshire and the Lothians, agriculture is well understood, and the farmers are in general well fed and clothed, and comfortably lodged. A very considerable part of Scotland, however, displays but little improvement, and the husbandman rather exists than lives on the scanty produce of his farm. In those places, the cattle are lean and small, the houses exceedingly mean, and the whole face of the country exhibits the most deplorable marks of poverty. The prejudice of the landed people in general against hedges, which they consider as useless and cumbersome, and their predilection for stone walls, which occupy less ground, leave almost the whole country destitute of the ornament of hedgerow planting, and give it that naked and bleak appearance, so striking to an English traveller.

As the climate of the highlands differs from that of the lowlands, as well as of England, in being colder and more rainy, the vegetation of those mountainous, granitic, or micaceous districts, of which some of the highest peaks are clothed with perpetual snow, may well be supposed to exhibit as great a dissimilarity. A greater number of Alpine plants, are consequently met with in those parts, than in the southern provinces of Britain. Amidst the romantic scenery of the highlands, the curiosity of the English botanist will meet with ample gratification by the incessant appearance of plants, which to him are altogether new, or known only by name. How just soever may be the remarks which tourists have made on the bleak aspect of the

country

country from the deficiency of wood, their propriety is not so general as to preclude exception. Some parts of the highlands, as well as the more fertile provinces of Scotland, present considerable forests of birch and pine, both of which thrive exceedingly well in most parts of the country. The Scotch oak is excellent in some parts of the highlands; and several parts of Scotland present incontestible evidences that the country formerly abounded in timber, large logs being frequently found buried in the mosses or bogs. The Sylva Caledonia was famous in antiquity for being the retreat of the Caledonian boar, but the forest, as well as its fierce inhabitant, has now disappeared. The general nudity of the country, however, is gradually diminished, and will probably in time be, in a great measure, removed by the good taste and laudable exertions of many of the nobility and gentry, who form numerous and extensive plantations in the vicinity of their elegant mansions.

Zoology.] The zoology of Scotland is not remarkably distinguished from that of England. The species seem to be in both countries the same, with only some circumstantial variations resulting from soil and climate. The horses of Galloway are of a diminutive breed, but considerably larger than those of Shetland. Horses, horned cattle, and sheep, are very small in the highlands; but in the eastern districts they are much larger, and of different breeds. Goats, which in some Alpine countries enliven the landscape, and contribute to the support of the inhabitants, are not so numerous in the highlands as might be expected. Wolves were not extirpated in Scotland, till near the end of the seventeenth century. Among the birds may be reckoned a considerable number of eagles and falcons,

falcons, the former of a large size, and the latter of an elegant form; and the islands and rocky shores, are the haunts of numberless sea-fowl of various kinds.

Scotland abounds with fish, and contributes largely to the supply of the English markets, especially in lobsters and salmon, the produce of its seas and its rivers. The latter, indeed, as well as some of its lakes, have long been distinguished for the abundance of salmon with which they are stored. In the small river of Thurso, 2500 salmon have been caught in one morning.* The Dee has, from an early period, been celebrated for its great quantity of this excellent fish.† Three centuries ago, the salmon fisheries of Scotland were, by its government, considered as an object of attention, and in the reign of the first James, laws were made for their regulation. The herring fisheries will be treated in the description of the Scottish islands.

Natural Curiosities.] A country of so mountainous an aspect as Scotland, may be easily supposed to abound in natural curiosities; and here expectation is not disappointed. Almost every mountain and lake may be ranged under that head, and in many parts of the highlands, each opening landscape presenting objects and views striking and uncommon, will by an English traveller be esteemed a curiosity. Many of these we have already described as fully as our limits permit, and it would be useless to repeat what has been said on the beauties of Loch Lomond, the sublime grandeur of Ben Nevis, and other magnificent features of nature. Besides these, however,

* Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 196.

† Hector Boeth. Scot. regni descriptio fol. 5.—Cambd. Britannia, p. 712.

among many other objects of attention, the celebrated hill of Kinnoul, near Perth, may be mentioned as a great mineralogical curiosity, which is visited by all tourists who make that science their study. This singular eminence, which rises about 210 yards in perpendicular height above the Tay, is almost an entire mass of uncommon minerals. The caves in various parts of the highlands, would be esteemed great curiosities in a country less abundant in romantic scenery. Among these, however, the great cave of Fraisgill, near Tong in Sutherland, twenty feet wide, and about fifty high at its entrance, and penetrating nearly half a mile under ground, is remarkable not only for its extent, but also for the beauty of its interior, which is variegated with an endless diversity of colours, intermixing their shades with a softness and delicacy which no pencil can imitate. In the island of Stroma, situated in the Pentland Frith, about three miles from the shores of Caithness, are caverns, which are said to preserve human bodies for a number of years without putrifaction.* The cave of Smo, to the east of Durness, is a subterraneous lake of fresh water, of which the extent is yet unknown. A son of Lord Reay, once attempted in a boat to explore this gloomy recess, but having proceeded till the foul air extinguished his lights, he found himself obliged to desist from his purpose. A number of natural curiosities, and much of the rude scenery of the highlands, have hitherto escaped the attention of tourists.†

Antiquities and curiosities of art.] The relics of antiquity in Scotland are numerous, and the period of

* Bryce's Map.—Scotch Gazetteer.

† Statist. acct. vol. 6, 279.

their formation, like that of similar monuments in many other countries, is often buried in oblivion. Antiquaries have distinguished them into classes, and assigned them to particular epochs, and to different nations or tribes. Some are considered as Druidical, from their resemblance to those which in England pass under that denomination; but the monuments of that period, are neither numerous nor remarkable, nor perhaps well ascertained. Those of the Roman period, however, are of superior importance, and easily distinguished. The camp near Ardock, in Perthshire, at the foot of the Grampian hills, is a striking remnant of Roman antiquity, and is generally supposed to have been the encampment of Agricola, previous to his decisive battle with Galgacus the Caledonian king, which Tacitus describes with such eloquence.* Most of these Roman remains in Scotland, are usually ascribed to Agricola; but the judicious antiquary and reader of history, will acknowledge that Lollius Urbicus, Septimius Severus, Constantius Chlorus, &c. have an equal, and some of them, especially Urbicus and Severus, a superior claim to be regarded as the authors of those works. Perhaps, indeed, all these have had some share in their execution. The principal vestige of the Roman power in North Britain, is the celebrated pretenture or wall, built in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which, extending between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, marked the utmost boundaries of the dominions of Rome. Near this wall, a small edifice, vulgarly called Arthur's oven, appears to have been a temple of the God Terminus, guardian of the Roman frontiers. At different periods the Romans had extended their con-

* Tacitus Vita Agricolæ.

quests

quests more northward, and their military roads have been traced as far as the county of Angus; but the principal vestiges are within the pretenture. In the next place may be ranked the Pictish monuments. Many of these so called, however, will not admit of an easy discrimination from those of other periods. The tombs, or tumuli, cannot by any efforts of the antiquary, be assigned to their true epoch. A singular hill in the vicinity of Inverness, exhibiting the figure of a boat reversed, is probably a sepulchral monument of some of the Caledonian kings, who fixed in this city their principal residence. The courts or places of judgment among the gothic nations, erroneously supposed to be Druidical temples, are numerous.* Some of these are of a small circuit, and at no great distance from one another, having probably been the courts of the primitive Danish or Norwegian lords, or perhaps temples erected to Odin, Thor, and other Gothic deities. Of the religious edifices of Christianity, perhaps none can be traced beyond the year 715, when, as Bede informs us, Nethan III. sent for architects to build a church in his dominions. But the principal edifices, both of the religious and castellated kind, have been erected since the reign of Malcolm III. Some of the most magnificent churches owe their foundation to David I. in the 12th century. The ruins of the cathedral of Elgin, have a striking appearance of grandeur and dignity, and display a variety of elaborate workmanship.

* See remarks on Stonehenge, Artic. Eng. vol. 1, p. 44.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Remarkable Edifices—Scottish Islands—Herring Fisheries.

EDINBURGH, the capital of Scotland, is a place of no great antiquity. Whatever may be the epoch of its existence, its name cannot be traced beyond the year 955. In the eleventh century, Malcolm III, and Margaret of England his queen, are said to have resided in the castle of Edinburgh, and David I. was the founder of Holyrood house. That part called the old city, is situated on the ridge of a hill, gradually declining from the lofty precipice on which the castle is built, to a bottom in which stands the palace of Holyrood house, the residence of the ancient kings of Scotland. Adjacent to this edifice is a park of considerable extent, and replete with mountainous scenery. The castle commands a most magnificent prospect of land and sea, comprehending a view of Leith with the shipping in the road, and a vast extent of picturesque landscape. Many of the houses in the old town of Edinburgh, are of the astonishing height of twelve or thirteen stories, a singularity ascribed to the desire of the ancient inhabitants, of being within the protection of the castle, which was formerly considered as a place of extraordinary strength. The new town of Edinburgh is deservedly celebrated for its regularity and elegance, the houses being all of freestone, and some of them ornamented with pillars and pilas-

 ters.

ters. Brick is, indeed, almost unknown in Scotland, and is apt to impress the mind of the Scotch traveller, with ideas of slightness and want of durability.

Many of the public edifices in Edinburgh are magnificent, especially the castle, the palace, the principal church, Herriot's-hospital, the new college, and several buildings in the new town. But the High-street in the old-town, which runs along the ridge of the hill, extending a full mile in length, in a direct line and gradual ascent from Holyrood-house on the east, and is terminated on the west by the rude majesty of the Castle, seated on a rock inaccessible on all sides, except from the city; acquires from its length, width, and the height of the houses, an appearance strikingly magnificent, and scarcely equalled in Europe. The new city is joined to the old by the North bridge, thrown over the loch or valley that separates them, and was for a long time an obstacle to the enlargement of this capital. A similar communication with the elevated grounds on the south, is effected by the South-bridge extending over the valley called the Cowgate, by which they were separated from the city. This bridge has a range of houses on each side, forming a continued street, except at the middle arch, where a beautiful opening is left; and the houses and shops are exceedingly elegant. The enormous sums of 150,000*l.* 109,000*l.* and, in general, from 80,000*l.* to 96,000*l.* per acre, are the astonishing and almost incredible prices of areas for building in this superb street.* The situation of Edinburgh is grand and romantic, and its environs are picturesque and pleasing. Its commercial disadvantages are, in a great measure, compen-

* Scotch Gazetteer, Art. Edinburgh.

sated

sated by the port of Leith, which is scarcely two miles distant.

Leith.]—The trade is here very considerable. In 1791, the tonnage of the vessels belonging to this port amounted to 130,000 tons. The business of ship-building is briskly carried on, five master builders, and from 150 to 200 carpenters being generally employed. The arrivals and clearances at the harbour exceed the number of 1700 vessels, of various descriptions, of which 165 belong to the town. The annual commerce of Leith, which, in 1784, was estimated at half a million sterling, is now computed at nearly a million: so powerful are the effects of a mercantile spirit, and of active industry. The manufactories are also considerable. In 1790, the two glass-house companies manufactured 9,019,904 pounds weight of glass. Of soap, in the same year, 6,000,000lbs. weight was manufactured, and 3,000,000lbs. of candles.* There is also a considerable carpet manufactory, and several iron forges. In 1755 the population of Leith was 9,405, and in 1791 it had increased to 13,841. At these two periods, the whole population of Edinburgh, including the port of Leith, was computed at 70,430, & 84,886 respectively.† At present, 90,000 may be considered as the most probable estimate.

Glasgow.]—Glasgow, the second city of Scotland, is also one of the most ancient, being generally supposed to owe its origin to St. Mungo, who is said to have founded a bishopric here so early as A.D. 560, which, in 1484, was erected into an archiepiscopal see. But if it possess some fame in ecclesiastical history, it was

* Scotch Gazetter, art. Leith.

† Statistie Account, vol. 6. p. 564.

 little

little distinguished in the annals of commerce, till the union between the two kingdoms opened new views, and excited the spirit of enterprize among the inhabitants. Before that period, the merchants of Scotland were excluded from the American and the West-India trade; and the necessary and dangerous circumnavigation of a great part of the island, before the vessels of Glasgow could reach any of the European ports, present a formidable obstacle to the extension of its commerce. The first branch of trade in which the inhabitants of this place engaged, seems to have been the curing and exportation of the salmon caught in the Clyde. About A.D. 1680, the exportation of salmon and herrings from Glasgow to France was very considerable, the returns being made in wine, brandy, and various other commodities. This appears to have been the principal trade of this port, before the union permitted its extension to America and the West-Indies. The first vessel, belonging to Glasgow, that crossed the Atlantic, sailed from the Clyde in the year 1718, which constitutes a memorable epoch in the commercial history of Scotland.* The trade to the American colonies increased so rapidly, and was carried on to so great an extent, that out of 90,000hds. of tobacco imported into Great Britain, 49,000 were engrossed by Glasgow.

At the commencement of the American war, the commerce of this port had reached to the zenith of its prosperity; but from that unfortunate event, it received a blow which threatened its annihilation, and actually ruined many of the opulent merchants, whose capitals were embarked in the trade, and who had supposed themselves possessed of independent for-

* Statistic Account, vol. 5th. p. 198.

tunes

tunes. Although the trade of Glasgow was thus interrupted, the commercial spirit of her citizens was not extinguished. They explored new sources, and increased their trade with the West-Indies and the continent of Europe. By these means, their commerce gradually revived, and has lately been rapidly augmented. In 1784, the shipping vessels belonging to this port were only 386, and their tonnage 22,896. In 1790, their number amounted to 476, and their tonnage 46,581; and, in 1797, the shipping employed in the trade of the Clyde, consisted of 252 vessels more than in the preceding year. If the foreign trade of Glasgow has not yet attained to its former prosperity, the deficiency is amply compensated by the amazing increase of its manufactures. That of linen had been begun in 1725, and was carried on to a considerable extent; but has of late yielded to that of cotton, which, according to a calculation made in 1791, produced manufactured goods to the amount of 1,500,000*l*. and employed no fewer than 15,000 looms. The cathedral is an ancient structure, which escaped the fury of the first reformers, those Goths and Vandals of Scotland, who took so much pains to obliterate all the monuments of antiquity in that country. This city is finely situated on the Clyde, over which are two convenient bridges. The environs present nothing remarkably picturesque; but on the banks of the Clyde, the landscape is rich, various, and delightful, being interspersed with a number of elegant seats. The large and populous city of Glasgow, which can scarcely be distinguished from the numerous surrounding villages, excites in the mind pleasing ideas of industry, opulence, security, and happiness. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the po-

 pulation

pulation of Glasgow, including the suburbs, amounted to 23,546; in 1793, it was stated at 66,028; and since that time it must be considerably increased.

Glasgow and Leith are the two principal theatres of Scottish commerce, and, together with Edinburgh, constitute the soul of all improvement in the northern division of Great Britain. The University of Glasgow is of considerable celebrity.

Perth, Aberdeen, and Dundee rank the next in importance and eminence.

Perth.]—Perth, supposed to be the Victoria of the Romans, is an ancient town, pleasantly situated in a plain on the banks of the Tay. Its trade is chiefly of the coasting kind, and linen its staple manufacture; besides which it has some of paper and leather. The population of Perth is computed at about 20,000; being doubled since the year 1755. It contains few public edifices worthy of notice, but its environs are delightful and fertile. It possesses a grammar school of great celebrity, which has produced many eminent statesmen and scholars, of whom it suffices to mention the late Earl of Mansfield and the admirable Chrichton.* There is also an academy, with a literary and antiquarian society. The manners of Perth are gay; and the inhabitants have their theatrical representations, their regular assemblies, and other polite amusements.

Dundee.]—Dundee is also situated on the Tay, about ten miles from its mouth, and sixteen below Perth. The firth of Tay is here above two miles in breadth, and affords

* Of these two memorable characters, the former is of so recent a period and so distinguished fame, as not to require any commemorative praise; the latter, born, according to Lord Buchan, A.D. 1560, was a prodigy of mental and corporeal accomplishments. Vide Aldus Manutius, Lord Buchan, and other biographers.

a good

a good road for shipping. This town has repeatedly suffered the calamities of war, being taken and burnt by Edward I. King of England; afterwards by Richard II. and again by the English in the reign of Edward VI. During the troubles which followed the death of Charles I. the Marquis of Montrose took it by storm; as did afterwards General Monk, after a most destructive siege. Lumsden, the governor, fell among heaps of slain, and the town was given up to pillage. Dundee is now a well built modern town, and the public edifices are neat and commodious. In 1792, the vessels belonging to this port amounted to 116, and their tonnage to 8550. Of the manufactures, 80,000*l.* was computed to be the annual value of the linens; 40,000*l.* of the canvass, &c.; 33,000*l.* of the coloured thread, and 14,000*l.* that of the tanned leather.* The population, according to the returns in 1801, amounted to 26,084. Dundee has given birth to many eminent characters, among whom may be numbered the celebrated Hector Boethius, one of the principal restorers of learning in his time; Dr. Kinloch, physician to James VI. and Mr. Goldman, a merchant, both of them admired for the purity and excellence of their Latin poesy.* To these we may add Fletcher, Dempster, the brave Lord Viscount Duncan, and the late Lord Loughborough, names which confer celebrity on the place of their birth, and will ever attract the applause of Britons.

Aberdeen.]—Aberdeen is a large and handsome town, situated on a rising ground on the banks of the Dee. In 1795, sixty-one British, and five foreign ships entered this port. The chief manufactures are those of woollen goods, particularly stockings, of which the annual

* Statistic Account, vol. 8th. p. 204.

† Vide poems in Poetæ Scotigenæ, vol. 2.

export is computed to amount to 123,000*l*. The thread manufactured here is highly esteemed. The salmon fishery in the Dee and the Don, is a valuable branch of trade, the annual average of the exported salmon being 167,000lbs. weight sent pickled to London, and from 900 to 1000 barrels of salted fish to the Mediterranean. Old Aberdeen, a place of considerable antiquity, is about a mile to the north, situated on an eminence on the banks of the Don. In the fourteenth century, Aberdeen was taken and destroyed by Edward III. King of England. The whole population was, in 1795, computed at 24,493, having, within half a century, increased nearly one-third. Among many eminent characters, natives of this place, may be mentioned Jamieson, the celebrated painter, named the Scottish Vandyke. At Aberdeen is an university, of which the celebrated Hector Boethius was the first president, with an annual salary of forty Scottish marks, or 2*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. a striking proof of the high value and scarcity of money in Scotland, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

The principal towns being here arranged according to their importance, rather than their situation, it may not be amiss to place next to those already described, the port of Greenock and port Glasgow, both situated on the banks of the Clyde. These are two considerable towns, which have risen to eminence by sharing in the commerce of Glasgow. The population of Greenock is computed at 15,000, and that of port Glasgow at about 4000.

Paisley,]—Paisley, six miles and an half west from Glasgow, merits the attention of all those who consider manufactures as one of the pillars of national prosperity. In the commencement of the

last

last century, this was a place of little importance, consisting only of one street about half a mile long, with some lanes diverging from it on each side.* At present Paisley, with its suburbs, may rank among the principal towns in Scotland, after Edinburgh and Glasgow, being in extent and population little, or more probably nothing, inferior to Aberdeen and Dundee, and exhibiting an interesting spectacle of ingenious and successful industry. The annual value of the produce of the manufactures in the town of Paisley, consisting of silk gauze, lawns, cambrics, thread-gauze, muslins, white thread, ribbons, soap, candles, and tanned leather, have been computed at upwards of 660,000*l.* besides those in the suburbs, where two of the cotton mills contain 22,572 spindles, and employ nearly 1000 persons.* According to the returns made to Sir John Sinclair in 1791, the number of inhabitants in the town of Paisley was 13,800, and of those in the suburbs 6103, making a total of 19,903; which, with 4689 in the country part of the Abbey parish, composed an aggregate of 24,592, being an increase of two-thirds since the middle of the last century. Since 1791, the population is supposed to have increased one-fourth.

Lanark.]—Lanark, seated on the slope of a rising ground near the banks of the Clyde, twenty-four miles south-east from Glasgow, and thirty west from Edinburgh, possesses so many elegible situations for manufactures, that Sir Richard Arkwright being here in 1724, said, that "in time Lanark would probably become the Manchester of Scotland, as no place he had ever seen afforded better situations, or more ample streams of water

* Crawford's Hist. Renfrewshire.

† Scotch Gazeteer, 1803.

water for cotton machinery." At present the cotton mills erected here by the enterprising David Dale, Esq. of Glasgow, whose laudable attention to the education and morals of the children, and others employed, merits the patriot's applause, are beginning to render Lanark of some consequence in the manufacturing system of Scotland. Formerly it was noted only for its academy, conducted by Mr. Thomson, brother of Thomson the poet of the Seasons.

Inverness.]—Inverness, an ancient and flourishing town, is considered as the capital of the highlands. It contains about 10,000 inhabitants, and has some manufactures of ropes and candles, and lately of cotton and woollen, as well as a good salmon fishery in the river Ness, on which it is situated at its junction with the Firth of Moray. Inverness being the mart of an extensive district, with which the communication is facilitated by the military roads running in every direction from this point, and carried over mountains and morasses formerly impassable to the lightest vehicle, has a brisker trade, and a greater air of elegance than might be expected in so remote a situation.

Sterling.]—Stirling is chiefly remarkable for its historical fame, and for its romantic and commanding situation, which bears a strong resemblance to that of the old town of Edinburgh. The castle, which is of great antiquity, and was once esteemed of considerable strength, is also like that of Edinburgh, built on the western extremity of the rock on which the town is situated. It commands a delightful as well as extensive prospect, beautified by the windings of the Forth, as well as by ancient ruins, elegant seats, and populous villages. As this fortress was often the object of bloody contention, twelve fields of battle are said to be within view of

of its walls. In Scotland, however, as well as in England and other European countries, the scene is happily changed; instead of gloomy castles and ensanguined fields, we contemplate with pleasure the arts of peace, converting to human use the rude materials of nature. The population of Sterling is about 5,000; but no manufactures worth notice are seen in the town, or its immediate vicinity.

Dunkeld.]—The other towns of Scotland are too inconsiderable to claim a place in geography; but the admirer of picturesque scenery would not excuse the omission of Dunkeld, a very small town in Perthshire, situated on the banks of the Tay, and environed by landscapes equally romantic and delightful. Nature has here, with the most profuse liberality, exerted her powers in producing and combining the most charming objects; and the Duke of Athol's improvements, conducted on an extensive scale, and with the most refined taste, has given additional ornaments to the admirable scene, forming a whole which presents an indescribable variety and picturesque beauty seldom equalled, and scarcely any where excelled. The situation is esteemed not less healthful than pleasant, and is frequently recommended by physicians as a summer residence for consumptive and nervous patients. It is no wonder, indeed, that the purity of the air and the serenity of mind produced by the contemplation of nature, in her most picturesque and beautiful forms, in conjunction with moderate exercise, to which the stranger is daily invited by the variegated beauty of the environs, should produce a salubrious effect. Dunkeld is a place of great antiquity, and famed as the ancient capital of Caledonia. It is also said, that in the early ages of Christianity, a Pictish king made it the seat of religion by

founding

founding a monastery of Culdees, which David I, in the year 1130, erected into a bishopric. Its manufactures, consisting of linen, are inconsiderable; but, it is somewhat surprising, that so charming a residence should have so few inhabitants, 1,086 being the number assigned to its population.

Edifices.]—Scotland presents a variety of edifices, ancient and modern, which merit the attention of the traveller. These, however, are too numerous to be described; as the country is, in many places, interspersed with noblemen's seats in the most romantic situations, rising amidst mountains and wildernesses like the visions of Oriental Tales, and surrounded with a scenery the most picturesque that imagination itself can depict. The castle of Inverlochy, in the shire of Inverness, is an object particularly interesting, as it directs the attention to times long since past, and excites reflections on the mutability of fortune. Inverlochy, which, by the ancient Scottish writers, was called the emporium of the west of Scotland, was, according to Hector Boethius, once an opulent city, and the seat of royalty. Here King Achaius is said to have signed, A.D. 790, a league offensive and defensive with Charlemagne. In a later period it was destroyed by the Danes, and never more restored. No remains of it are left except some pavements, which are supposed to have been those of the streets, if we can conceive them to have been paved at so early a period, when most of the great cities of Europe were almost wholly destitute of this elegant conveniency. Near the place where it stood, at a small distance from Fort William, is the castle of Inverlochy, which, says Mr. Ross, "stands alone in ancient magnificence, after having seen the river Lochy, which formerly filled its ditches,

run

run in a different channel, and outlived all history, and all tradition of its own founder, and of its own age." The area of the building is 1,600 square yards; and the space inclosed within the ditch is nearly an English acre and an half. This edifice is quadrangular, with large round towers at the angles; which, in the mode of their architecture, seem to resemble the structures erected by the English in the reign of Edward I. It is built in a style of ponderous solidity, and the massy thickness of the walls corresponds with the vastness of the fabric.

SCOTTISH ISLANDS.

THE Scottish islands, which are numerous, as well as of considerable importance and celebrity, are generally classed in three grand divisions: the Hebudes, or western isles, erroneously called Hebrides,* the Orkneys, and the islands of Shetland. The islands forming these groupes, with several others in a detached position, are too numerous to admit of a particular description: it may therefore suffice to exhibit them in groupes, as nature has placed them, with a view, somewhat more distinct, of a few which are esteemed the most important.

The Hebudes, or western islands, which begin to the west of the Chersonese of Cantire, may with propriety be divided into the interior and the exterior chain. To the first of these belongs Jura, about twenty miles in length, and, at the most, five miles in breadth. It is one of the most rugged and mountainous of the Hebudes. The noted paps of Jura on the western side of the island, are a chain of conic hills almost destitute of vegetation.† Mull is about twenty-eight miles in length, and its mean breadth about eighteen. The climate is cloudy and rainy. The population is about 7,000.‡ The principal food of the inhabitants is potatoes, barley-meal, and fish; and their drink pure water, except when they can obtain a little whiskey. Their habitations are hovels constructed of

* The name was corrupted from Hebudes into Hebrides by Hector Boyce, who was misled by an error of the press in an edition of Solinus, printed at Venice, 1491.—Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1, p. 197.

† Statist. Acc. vol. 12, p. 318.

‡ St. Fond, tome 2, p. 89.—Mrs. Murray says Mull is about forty miles square.—Guide to Scotland, vol. 2, p. 235.

whin,

whin, or furze, and covered with thatch, while a hole in the roof serves for a chimney. In the whole island Dr. Johnson could find only one man that spoke English, and not a single individual that could read.* Mull is surrounded with small but interesting islands, among which may be named Lismore, once the principal residence of the bishops of Argyle; and a little to the south, Kerrara, remarkable for the death of Alexander II, 1249. Icolmkill and Staffa, in the vicinity of Mull, are, to the historian and naturalist, curious subjects of investigation. The celebrated Icolmkill, or Jona, is only about three miles long and one in breadth; yet this remote and contracted spot was once the seat of religion and learning, when not only England and Scotland, but also a great part of Europe was immersed in barbaric ignorance. Jona may be considered as classic ground, and the primitive seat of Scottish literature. Its venerable ruins have been repeatedly described; but its history, although often attempted, is obscured by legend, and involved in conjecture; and its sepulchres of Irish and Norwegian kings are, by a late writer of distinguished accuracy, considered as fictitious, their interment there not being mentioned in any genuine chronicles.† Magnificent remains of antiquity, however, attest its former importance. The church of St. Mary is a beautiful structure, and besides the tombs, real or fabulous, of ancient kings, is supposed to contain that of St. Columba, the apostle of the Scots. The steeple and cupola are large; the doors and windows are curiously carved, and the altar is constructed of the

* Journey to the Hebudes.

† Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 152.—Donald Munro says their interment there is mentioned in the Erse Chronicles.

finest

finest marble. Innumerable inscriptions, many of which are now difficult to be understood, seem to sanction the well known observation, that when learning was almost extinct in most parts of Europe, it found an asylum in these remote regions. But the light, which it once diffused in this corner, was afterwards extinguished by the ravages of the Danes and Norwegians; and ages of barbarism succeeded. Amidst the sacred ruins of Jona, the philosopher may muse, and the antiquary may puzzle himself with laborious research, or amuse his imagination with ingenious conjecture; but its history is enveloped in the impenetrable gloom of obscurity.* The island is a mass of red granite, resembling that of Egypt. Of this the sacred edifices are partly constructed. In some parts of the isle a beautiful white marble is found; and, according to some, green and red jasper, elegantly veined. In this island is found that rare shrub, the Lapland willow. Staffa, about six miles to the north of Jona, is about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, exhibits a scene of natural magnificence almost unparalleled, and wholly unknown to the public, until the inquisitive genius of Sir Joseph Banks explored those interesting regions. The beautiful basaltic columns, forming one entire end of the island, are mostly above fifty feet high, and standing in natural colonades disposed with all the regularity of architecture, constitute an assemblage, in comparison of which all the superb edifices erected by man, are mere play-things. But the harmonious grotto, or Fingal's cave, is one of the most astonishing objects of that kind described or seen by any traveller. The mind can scarcely conceive an idea of any thing

* Vide Dr. Johnson's and Mrs. Murray's Reflections, &c.

more magnificent, and all tourists describe it in terms of astonishment and rapture.*

Skey and its surrounding isles form another groupe of the Hebudes. This is the largest of the division distinguished by this appellation, being about forty-five English miles in length, and twenty-two in breadth, and containing about 15,000 inhabitants. From this island are exported considerable numbers of black cattle and horses. Its surface, like most of the Hebudes, is hilly and rugged, and being deluged with almost continual rains is overspread with wild and swampy moors. The houses of the inhabitants are mostly of turf, and covered with grass.†

Of the exterior chain of the western isles, which form as it were a barrier against the Atlantic Ocean, Lewis is the chief in extent and importance, being fifty miles in length, and twenty in breadth. The interior part consists of a healthy elevated ridge, full of morasses; but the vales near the shore are capable of cultivation. The south end of this island, distinguished by the name of Harris, is still more mountainous; indeed, the whole face of the country is singularly disgusting and gloomy, forming a melancholy abode drenched with deluges of rain, while the ears of the inhabitants are stunned with the tremendous roar of the Atlantic Ocean. Stornaway, on the eastern side of the island, however, is a considerable town, consisting of about seventy houses, covered with slate, besides cottages. At this place a Dutch colony was established by James VI. for the laudable purpose of

* Sir Joseph Banks's Journey, 1772; also Mrs. Murray's description—Guide to Scotland, vol. 2, c. 3, 4, 5.

† Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswel have well described the manners of the inhabitants, and the modes of living in Skey.

 introducing

introducing industry into the Hebudes; but the inhabitants being attached to their old customs, and averse to all innovations, however beneficial, soon expelled the strangers. Stornaway has an excellent harbour, from which, far to the east, may be discovered the high and rugged mountains of Sutherland and Ross. Some parts of this island produce potatoes, oats, and bigg, which is commonly confounded with barley, although it be in reality a very different species of grain. No trees will thrive here, except the alder and the mountain ash, and scarcely a shrub is any where to be seen; but there are many small black cattle and sheep, as well as horses, which are also of a dimunitive size. The chief resource of Lewis is the fishery, which is exceedingly abundant. In this island is a remarkable judicial circle. An avenue, composed of thirty stones of about seven feet high, terminates in a circle consisting of twelve stones, with one twelve feet high in the centre. To the south of Lewis is North Vist, so much resembling it in climate, soil, and every particular, that both may be included in the same description. St. Kilda is the most western of the Hebudes, being sixty miles west from Harris, and 140 from the nearest point of Scotland. Its length from east to west is about three miles, and its breadth from north to south about two. The coast is one continued face of perpendicular rock of a tremendous height, except at the landing place in the bay, and even there the rocks are so high, and the narrow passage so steep, that a few men might defend it against the assaults of numerous armies. The bay itself is also of extremely difficult access, the tides and the waves being so impetuous, that, except in a calm, it is very dangerous to approach the shore.

 The

The surface of the island rises into four high mountains, and most of it is covered with a rich soil. The inhabitants sow and reap earlier, and have better corn, than those of the other Hebudes. One of the principal employments of the St. Kildians is catching wild fowl and taking their eggs. In this difficult and apparently dangerous business, a person, by the means of a rope, which his partner at the top has fastened round his waist, descends the precipitous rocks which form the shores of the island, and ransacks the nests of the various kinds of sea-fowl, that breed there in incredible numbers. After having obtained his booty he is drawn up, at a signal given to the person placed at the top. At this business, which often affords them a plentiful supply of excellent food, the St. Kildians are exceedingly dexterous. The fowler, without the least trepidation or appearance of fear, descends the most dreadful precipices, and there suspended between sky and water pitches himself, by the help of a pole, from rock to rock with the utmost agility, while his situation cannot, without terror, be viewed by a spectator unaccustomed to such scenes. St. Kilda contains one village about a quarter of a mile from the landing place. The houses are built of stone, interlaid with turf instead of mortar, and flat at the top, to secure them from the tremendous hurricanes which are there frequently experienced. In this village, which is situated on the side of a burn or rivulet, fed by several springs, all the inhabitants reside. In 1690 they amounted, according to Mr. Martin's account, to 180 persons. In 1764 they were only eighty-eight. This decrease was owing to the introduction of the small pox, which in 1730 had so depopulated the island, that no more than four grown

persons were left alive. In so small a society, in a situation so remote, almost entirely secluded from the rest of the world, it may easily be imagined that a peculiarity of manners and ideas must prevail. The St. Kildians having scarcely any communication with the rest of mankind, appear almost in the light of a distinct race of human beings.*

In speaking of the ancient magnificence of Jona, we have had occasion to remark the obscurity in which its history is involved; and the same observation may, in general terms, be extended to all the Hebudes. It, therefore, suffices to say, what indeed is all that can with certainty be affirmed, that they were peopled at an early period, and were not unknown to Pliny and several other ancient writers.† That they were once in a flourishing state, and the seat of religion and learning, has already been observed; and the fact is attested by a mass of circumstantial evidence. In the year 1098, Magnus, king of Norway, attacked and subdued these islands. This disaster appears to have been the epoch from whence their decline may be dated. In 1266 they were, by Alexander II. re-annexed to Scotland, and their cession was solemnly confirmed to Alexander III. by Magnus IV. king of Norway.‡ It is not to be doubted, that the Hebudes were once better peopled and cultivated, and in every respect more flourishing, than at present.§ But at the same time it is certain, that the rainy climate is superlatively adverse to cultivation.

* Mr. Martin, and more recently Mr. Macauley, have given very interesting descriptions of St. Kilda, and of the singular manners of its inhabitants.

† Pliny's Hist. Nat. lib. 6, c. 16.

‡ Fordun, p. 164 and 165.

§ Hect Boeth, p. 8 and 9; Buchanan Hist. lib. 4.

tivation. The people of these islands, in their manners and customs, their prejudices, &c. resemble the highlanders. This observation, however, must necessarily be made, that the lowland manners are continually gaining ground in the highlands, while in these sequestered isles, scarcely any alteration in the moral condition of the inhabitants takes place. Many of the Celtic customs still remain, and a strong tincture of the feudal system yet prevails. The shamachies, or story tellers, supply the place of the ancient bards, and like them are the family historians and genealogists. The family musician, who is generally a bagpiper, appears, on particular occasions, sumptuously dressed in the manner of the English minstrels of former ages. The people are very little better clothed, lodged, and fed, than the Laplanders.* Their religion is chiefly that of the kirk of Scotland; but superstition is so grafted in their minds that it seems to be almost natural; volumes might be filled with the description of their superstitious notions and practices.

The islands of Orkney form a groupe round what is called the main land, an island of twenty-five miles in length from east to west, and thirteen in breadth from north to south. Kirkwall, the chief town of the Orkneys, contains about 300 houses, and has a stately cathedral dedicated to St. Magnus. The length is 226 feet, the height of the roof 71 feet, and that of the steeple 133 feet.† Opposite to this stands the castle, formerly the bishop's palace. In 1790 the exports of Kirkwall were estimated at 26,598*l.* and

* The state of life and manners in the Hebudæ has been amply described by J. L. Buchanan, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Boswell, Mrs. Murray, and several others.

† Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 204.

 the

the imports at 20,803*l*. The former consist chiefly of beef, pork, butter, tallow, hides, calf skins, rabbit skins, salted fish, oil, feathers, linen yarn, coarse linen cloth, kelp, and in plentiful year's some corn. The imports are wood, coal, flax, sugar, spirits, wine, with various kinds of fine woollens, linens, grocery and cutlery wares. Its manufactures are linen yarn, coarse linens, and kelp. The number of sheep in the Orkneys is computed at 50,000. The horses and cows are small; but the former are full of spirit, and the latter yield excellent milk. The swine are also of a dimunitive size. Sea-fowl are exceedingly numerous. The Ward Hill, of Hay, 540 yards perpendicular, is the highest in those regions. Some iron is found in these isles. In most parts the soil is good though shallow. But they are destitute of timber. Hazles, however, are seen here, with some ash trees, and a few willows. The spray of the ocean is fatal to trees. The inhabited isles of Orkney are computed at twenty-six, and 23,053 is the number assigned to their population.*

The islands of Shetland form a groupe similar to that of Orkney; the largest, which is called the main-land, being in the middle. This central island, which extends about fifty-seven miles in length, and ten or twelve in medial breadth, is much intersected by the sea. On the western side it is, as well as the smaller surrounding isles, very mountainous and rugged; but on the eastern side, comparatively low. Of this remote country, so little known and so seldom visited by tourists, it is difficult to obtain any accurate accounts of more recent date than those of Martin Sibbald, Blæn, &c. It may, therefore, not be amiss to subjoin the description which Pinkerton appears

* Statist. Acc. vol. 20, p. 612.

to

to have extracted from Jameson, as it seems to be the best modern view of Shetland. "On viewing these islands in general, a wonderful scene of rugged, bleak, and barren rocks, presents itself to our view. No tree or shrub is to be seen, to relieve the eye in wandering over these dreary scenes. Sometimes, however, a few scanty portions of cultivated ground catch the eye of the traveller, exciting emotions of pleasure, and forming a striking contrast to the barren heath-covered mountains which skirt them. The western part presents many scenes, as wild and sterile as can well be conceived; grey rocks rising from the midst of marshes and pools, and shores bounded by awful sea-beat precipices, do not fail to raise in the mind ideas of desolation and danger. The coasts are in general rugged and precipitous, presenting in many places scenes truly grand and magnificent, vast rocks of various heights, dreadfully rugged and broken, opposing their rude fronts to all the fury of a tempestuous ocean, which, in some places, has formed great detached pillars; in others, has excavated grand natural arches and caverns, that mock all human magnificence, and strike the beholder with that awe and wonder, which must affect every one on viewing these amazing wrecks of nature."* To this animated description we may add, that these islands lying between 59° 59′ and 61° 15′ North latitude, the longest day is somewhat more than nineteen, and the shortest less than five hours; but like other high northern latitudes, they derive, in the gloomy season of winter, great advantages from the strong Aurora borealis, which affords a light nearly equal to that of a full-moon. In these islands the spring is late, the summer

* Pink. vol. 1, p. 206.

very short, and the autumn wet and foggy. The winter sets in about the end of October, and continues till April. During that season, they have little frost and snow, but almost constant rains, with frequent and violent storms; and the sea swells and rages in so tremendous a manner, that for the space of five or six months their shores are inaccessible, and the inhabitants debarred from all intercourse with the rest of the world. Internal intercourse is also difficult, the interior parts being moorish and boggy, and every where intersected with rugged mountains, are almost impervious, especially as neither roads nor bridges are found in this desolate country. The arable land, of which the quantity is very small, is chiefly near the coast, and produces bigg and a kind of coarse oats. Potatoes have lately been cultivated, and contribute much to the comfortable support of the people. Carrots, parsnips, and turnips, are also cultivated in the gardens of gentlemen. The cattle are somewhat larger here than in the Orkneys. The sheep are small, but their wool is exceedingly fine, and by some esteemed little inferior to that of Spain. The horses are spirited and beautiful, but of so diminutive a size as to render them objects of curiosity in England. The swine are few in number, and very small. Lerwick, the chief town of the Shetland isles, is only an irregular village, containing about 150 families. It stands upon rocks, and has an excellent harbour called Brassey Sound, formerly much frequented by the Dutch herring fishers.

The herring fishery constitutes a very considerable branch of commerce, and exhibits a stupendous natural curiosity, which merits the attention both of the politician and the philosopher. The vast Arctic Ocean,

 which

which appears to be only the dismal and solitary reservoir of boundless ice and water, is, by the wisdom of Divine Providence, rendered an inexhaustible source of provisions for the human race. In its profound recesses, the innumerable shoals of herrings breed their myriads in security. About the winter solstice, emerging from their unknown retreats in a body surpassing description, and almost exceeding the powers of imagination, they separate into three divisions.* The least numerous battalion passing through the streight between Asia and America, visits the coast of Kamschatka.† Another taking a more westerly direction, moves towards America, and descends along the coasts of that continent as far as Carolina. But the grand column advancing towards the western parts of Europe, reaches the coast of Iceland about the beginning of March, in a close phalanx of a great depth, and of so vast an extent, that its surface is supposed considerably to exceed the dimensions of the whole island of Great Britain. They are afterwards subdivided into innumerable columns of five or six miles in length, and almost as many in breadth, followed by innumerable flocks of sea-fowl, and discoverable by the rippling of the water with a brilliant reflection. The great Icelandic column, sends off one division along the coast of Norway, which again subdivides itself into two, one passing through the Sound into the Baltic; the other steering towards Holstein, Bremen, &c.‡ The largest and deepest column, falls directly upon the isles of Shetland and Orkney. After passing these, it

* Atlas Marit. and Commercialis, p. 9.

† Pennant Arct. Zoology, vol. 1.

‡ Ol. Mag. de Gent. Septentrionalibus, lib. 20, cap. 22.—Roberts's Map of Commerce, 247.

divides

divides itself into two bodies, one moving along the eastern shores of Great Britain detaches smaller shoals to the coasts of Friezland, Holland, Flanders and France, while the other passing along the western side of Scotland, and visiting the Hebudes, directs its course into the seas that surround Ireland.* In April, or the beginning of May, the van of the grand column makes its appearance off Shetland, and the main body arrives in June, towards the end of which month, and that of July, they are in the greatest perfection, a circumstance well known, and industriously turned to advantage by the Dutch, who, in that season, were indefatigable in carrying on the fishery, which proved one of the grand sources of their wealth. The remains of this vast body having completed their summer's tour, and employed, fed, and enriched great numbers of people, are supposed to reassemble and return to their arctic asylum, where their prolific powers soon enable them to repair their losses.

Ever since the year 1164, the inhabitants of the Netherlands have been engaged in the herring fishery.† In 1203 we find that it was chiefly carried on by the Danes on the coast of Schonen, a province of Sweden.‡ Since that time, however, the shoals of herrings seem to have, in a great measure, deserted that coast, and confined themselves more to the Ocean, and we now hear no more of the Schonen fishery. The mode of pickling and curing herrings was, according to the most accredited historian, invented, or at least brought to perfection, about A.D. 1397, by

* Dictionnaire de Commerce, tome 2, p. 758.—Camb. Brit. p. 586 and 737.—Martin's des. W. Isles, p. 349.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 160.

‡ Ibid. p. 190.

William

William Buckelem of the isle of Biervliet, near Sluys in Flanders; and in honour of the inventor, the Emperor Charles V. paid a visit to the monument erected to his memory.* From the end of the fourteenth century, the herring fishery has been an inexaustible fund of wealth to the inhabitants of the Netherlands; but those of the United States, after their revolt, applied with so indefatigable industry to this business, that they soon converted it almost into a monopoly, by which they greatly increased their maritime strength.† It is asserted by Sir W. Raleigh, Sir W. Monson, and other well qualified judges of that age, that the Dutch employed 2000 busses in the Shetland fishery, where the best herrings in the world are procured,‡ and the latter affirmed that each buss acquired a profit of 1000*l.* in four months. Through various causes, however, this fishery has of late been neglected by the Dutch, who have seldom above 300 busses at once at the rendezvous at Brassey Sound.§ The inhabitants of Great Britain have always too much slighted this valuable commerce.

The population of the Shetland Islands was, in 1798, computed at 20,186,‖ which is certainly as great a number as they can well support, unless manufactures were established, or the fisheries carried on in a more rigorous and commercial manner. The people are in a state of great poverty. Provisions are very cheap; but money is extremely scarce. Having, however, two ample resources, which are wanted in inland countries, the fisheries and the numberless

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 392.

† Sir William Monson's Nav. Tracts, p. 518, 519.

‡ Mem. sur le Commerce des Hollandes, ch. 3.

§ Scotch Gazetteer.

‖ Statist. Acc. ch. 20, p. 612.

flocks

flocks of sea-fowl, in the catching of which they are not less dextrous than the inhabitants of the Hebudes and the Orkneys, they live, perhaps, more plentifully than those of many interior parts of the Highlands.

In the northern and western isles of Scotland, the condition of the people is nearly the same; but their manners are, in many respects, dissimilar: those of the Hebudes being of Celtic, those of the Orkneys and Shetland chiefly of Scandinavian origin. The same remarks may also be made of their vernacular language; but in Orkney and Shetland, a dialect of the English universally prevails.

From what country these isles, supposed by some to be the Thule of the ancients, were first peopled is unknown, and indeed their history is of little importance. While some suppose that the Picts, flying northward from the Scots, were the first settlers of Orkney and afterwards of Shetland; others believe them to have been colonized from Norway. During the twelfth, and the greatest part of the thirteenth, century, they were subject to the Norwegian kings; and, in the year 1263, were sold to Alexander, king of Scotland. They were afterwards subject to Denmark. In the reign of James III. they were ceded to Scotland by Christian I. as a portion with his daughter Margaret; and all future pretensions on the part of Denmark ceased, on the marriage of James VI. with the princess Anne of that country.

Theoretical writers have formed, in the closet, a variety of plans for the improvement of those desolate regions. None, however, but those who are conversant in the practice as well as the theory of a manufacturing and commercial system, can justly appreciate the merits of their schemes, or calculate the difficulty

culty of carrying them into execution. The want of capital, the want of fuel, and a tempestuous and rainy climate so hostile to vegetation, are formidable obstacles to the introduction of manufactures and the improvement of agriculture.* The commercial capitalists of more fortunate countries, will not be easily induced to risk their fortunes in regions so unpromising, and the opulent agriculturist knows, that more benefit may be derived from a fertile farm than from a barren state. The scarcity of fuel is also an insuperable obstacle to several kinds of manufactures, and, in many respects, counterbalances the cheapness of living. It is, however, a phœnomenon not less interesting than curious, that most of these northern and western isles, which are now totally destitute of trees, and where none can without extreme difficulty be raised, afford evident indications that they once abounded in wood.† Various conjectures have been formed on the subject; but the numerous roots and trunks of large trees found in the morasses, are unequivocal proofs of the fact; and it must be left to the naturalist to account for this singular circumstance.‡ From this general view of those remote regions, however, it appears that their improvement can proceed only by slow gradations. Any thing more than this seems rather desirable than practicable. The fisheries, however, which may be carried on with a much less capital than any considerable manufacturing enterprize, seem to be the only channel that nature has pointed out for the primary introduction of that wealth,

* See Lord Selkirk. Highlands, &c.

† Cambel contends that, by planting thick so as to shelter one another, trees may be easily raised. Polit. Survey, vol. 1. p. 626.

‡ See conjecture on this subject in speaking of the Irish bogs.

which

which must serve as a basis to every further improvement. If it be true that the Dutch, during a great number of years, derived a profit of two millions from the fisheries on these coasts,* this mode of reasoning requires no other illustration.†

* Sir W. Monson, ubi supra.

† Ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Historical View—Progress of Society—Of Arts, Sciences, and Literature—Of Manufactures and Commerce, &c.

THE history of Scotland, formerly a hostile kingdom, now an integral and valuable part of the British empire, cannot fail of being interesting to an English reader. Since the accession of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, to the throne of the latter kingdom, the history of both, as well as their government, is the same; and even before that period, their political concerns are intimately connected. But although some of the most importaut particulars of Scottish history be necessarily anticipated in that of England, the former is sufficiently interesting to be exhibited in a concentrated view and regular series.

The ancient historians of Scotland, like those of all other nations, were addicted to fable, and carry their pretensions to antiquity to a height which neither authentic records nor sober reason can allow. As the Britons had their Brutus, the Scots had their Fergus; and, adopting the traditions of their bards as materials for history, they fabricated a series of imaginary kings previous to the Christian æra, and composed particular details of fictitious events. The first authentic accounts that we have of the Scots, as well as most other modern nations of Europe, is not from their own, but from Roman history; and of a country so remote, and never subject to their dominion, they

could

could not acquire any accurate knowledge. It appears, however, that Scotland was anciently inhabited by tribes of different origin. The Caledonians, supposed to have been a Celtic, or perhaps Gothic colony, like the Belgæ of Britain, were in all probability the primitive inhabitants. The Picts seem to have been those Britons whom the Roman conquest drove northward; and the Scots, who are not mentioned by any Roman writers before the end of the fourth century, were probably a Celtic colony, which, according to the common accounts, first settled in Ireland, and afterwards, at an æra not ascertained, passed over from that country and formed establishments in Scotland. Caledonia, however, was the name by which the country was known to the Romans; and Caledonians that by which they distinguished its people. When Agricola first carried the Roman arms into the country, he found it possessed by this fierce and warlike race; whom he defeated in that memorable battle in which they made, under Galgacus their king, so glorious a stand against foreign invasion. The Caledonians, however, who were inferior to their enemies in discipline rather than in courage, although repulsed were not conquered; and the Romans, after being long harassed by their desultory inroads, at last, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, constructed the famous wall between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and here fixed the boundaries of their empire, without attempting any farther extension of conquest. This distant frontier was found so difficult to defend, that Adrian contracted the limits of the Roman province by building a second wall, which extended from Newcastle to Carlisle. The ambition of his successors sometimes endeavoured

endeavoured to recover what he had abandoned; and the intermediate tract between the two boundaries was alternately under the dominion of the Romans and that of the Caledonians. The introduction of Christianity is said, by some, to have taken place about the beginning of the third century; but the more probable accounts fix the middle of the sixth century as the era of that important event. The records, however, of this sequestered region, in ages so remote, are enveloped in impenetrable obscurity, and mixed with fiction, which renders them not less uncertain than uninteresting. The history of Scotland is, by Dr. Robertson, divided into four periods. The first of these reaches from the origin of the monarchy to the reign of Kenneth II, king of the Scots, who, having vanquished the Picts about the year 838, united the two nations, and extended his dominion over all the country, from the wall of Adrian to the Northern Ocean. The second comprises the space of time from that epoch to the demise of Alexander III. The third period extends from that time to the death of James V.; from which the fourth, dating its commencement, terminates at the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, when the union of the two crowns, although not of the kingdoms, was effected. The first period, this judicious historian considers as the region of fable and conjecture, which it would be lost labour to explore; the second, as the feeble, but gradually increasing dawn of truth; the third, that which begins to merit investigation; and the fourth, that in which Scotland having acquired some importance in the political scale, and her affairs being blended with those of other nations, especially of

 England

England and France, her history begins to become interesting to foreigners.*

In the first of these periods, which is not without reason accounted fabulous and obscure, the league which Achaicus, king of the Scots, concluded with Charlemagne, seems as well authenticated as most historical facts of that age. It is also asserted by the Scottish writers, that this prince, at the request of Charlemagne, sent several learned men to the court of that monarch; but this account meets with some contradictions from the Saxon writers, which seem to render it problematical. Achaicus was, according to those historians, king of the Scots only, the Picts being then a separate nation governed by their own princes. The residence of the Scottish kings appears to have been, at that time, sometimes at Inverness and sometimes at Inverlochy, a city of which, as already observed, no traces now exist;† and their territories must have been confined to the highlands, as, according to Archbishop Usher, and other historians, all that part of the lowlands of Scotland which extended to the Forth and the Clyde, including the city, or rather castle, of Edinburgh, composed, in the beginning of the ninth century, a part of the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia. If Kenneth II. annexed to his dominions the northern parts of England, as far as the wall of Adrian, it appears that they were soon lost by his successors, as Edinburgh was in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons above half a century after his reign. The Anglo-Saxon was also spoken in all the country south of the Forth and the Clyde; and Tyrrel observes, that all the names of places in that district are derived

* Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. 1, p. 105, 106.

† Vide Edifices, p. 28.

from

from that language, and not from the Irish or Erse, an evident proof that it was not introduced by the English fugitives at the time of the Norman Conquest, as some of our historians have erroneously asserted, although this influx of distinguished strangers from England might contribute to render it more fashionable.

While the Danes were ravaging England they made similar attempts upon Scotland; and however defective history may be, in regard to the particulars of this dark period, it is sufficiently explicit to inform us, that the Scots were, in this respect, more fortunate than the English; for, while the Danes were erecting a monarchy in England, they were every where defeated in Scotland by bloody battles, and with terrible slaughter. Being masters of the sea, they harrassed the country by successive invasions; and in conjunction with the Norwegians, conquered the Hebudes, and most of the isles, where they erected a number of petty sovereignties; but they could never make any permanent establishment in Scotland, and were finally expelled from all their possessions.

The memorable epoch of the Norman conquest of England, may be considered as the middle of what Dr. Robertson calls the second period of the Scottish history, and about that time it begins to grow somewhat more clear and distinct. The feudal system is generally said to have been introduced into Scotland by Malcolm II.; but others, with greater probability, ascribe it to Malcolm III, about A.D. 1090. Before this event, it is thought, that no written charters or titles to lands existed in that part of Britain: the dates of the oldest charters now known, ascending no higher than the reign of this prince, whose accession was in

 1057,

1057, and his demise in 1093. Previous to that period, possession alone ascertained the property of land, as it must every where have done, in the infancy of society, and as it does at this day of moveables. But the feudal law naturally introduced written deeds for the ascertainment of rights, and of the conditions of tenure.* Malcolm was a prince of consummate abilities, and in no respect inferior to his contemporary, Norman Conqueror. He was allied to the royal Saxon race of England by his marriage with Margaret, grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside, and sister of Edgar Atheling, the last male heir of that family. After a glorious reign, Malcolm was slain, together with his son, at the siege of Alnwick in Northumberland. This prince was succeeded by his brother Donald VII, who was dethroned by Duncan II. The crown afterwards devolved successively on Edgar, son of Malcolm III, Alexander I, and David I, who ascended the throne, A.D. 1124, and was contemporary with Stephen and Henry II, kings of England. The latter, indeed, in a great measure, owed his elevation to the effective support which the empress Matilda, his mother, received from her uncle the Scottish monarch, in her memorable contest with Stephen. David appears to have been a prince of great courage and prudence. He shone both as a politician and a warrior, and under his government Scotland was prosperous and powerful. He was lavish to ecclesiastics, and liberal in his religious endowments. He displayed his magnificence in the erection of churches and monasteries; and the most splendid religious edifices in Scotland owe to him their foundation. The superb remains of the Abbey of Melross in Roxburghshire, situated near the

* Aud. Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 133.

banks

banks of the Tweed, are a monument of his ostentatious piety, which excites the admiration of strangers. This munificence to the Church has drawn upon him the censure of some modern historians, who, inattentive to the changes of circumstances and ideas, do not sufficiently consider, that his conduct in this respect was in unison with the spirit of the times, and suitable to the age in which he lived. At that period, the encouragement of the clergy, and the multiplication of monasteries, were the only means of civilizing his ferocious subjects. And when the small revenues and limited powers of the ancient Scottish kings are taken into consideration, it is evident that the concurrence of the nobility was necessary to the execution of his plans, and that the taste of the nation must have coincided with that of the monarch.

David was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV, and he by William, from his rash valour, surnamed the Lion. The unsuccessful courage of this monarch brought his kingdom into a state of humiliation. Having invaded England, he was made prisoner at Alnwick in Northumberland, and conveyed into Normandy.* In order to regain his liberty, William was obliged to do homage to Henry for the whole kingdom of Scotland, which, by this transaction, was made feudatory and dependent on England. According to Speed, William also agreed to pay 100,000*l*. for his ransom, of which the half was paid in ready cash, while the castles of Roxborough, Berwick, Sterling, and Edinburgh, with the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, then in the hands of the Scots, were given in security for the rest. From this circumstance of the prompt payment of 50,000*l*. by Scotland,

* Robertson's Hist. Scotland, vol. 1, p. 209.—Brompton, p. 1092.

 especially

especially when England, a few years afterward, found it so difficult to raise only twice that sum for the ransom of Richard I. Archbishop Nicholson, in his Scottish historical library, supposes that the former kingdom must, in proportion to the latter, have possessed a much greater share of wealth at that period than in after times; and Mr. Anderson, in adverting to the same subject, concludes that Scotland must, in that age, have had a very considerable trade.* This supposition, however, is not authorised by any authentic documents, nor any presumptive evidence. The fact which gives rise to these efforts of conjecture, is strongly impressed with the stamp of fiction. Rapin, a diligent searcher of the best authorities, is very particular in relating the homage done by the Scottish king to Henry II. at York, in the presence of the barons of both kingdoms, and the provisional surrender of the above-mentioned castles, as pledges of his fealty; but gives not the least hint of the payment of any money.† He mentions, indeed, the sum of 10,000 marks paid to Richard I. for the redemption of those castles, and for a full discharge of the homage extorted by Henry, but is totally silent on the subject of any arrears of ransom.‡ On the whole, it appears that Speed has been misled by Hector Boethius, a writer more distinguished by copiousness and credulity, than by accuracy of investigation.

William the Lion had for his successor, Alexander II, who was succeeded by Alexander III, A.D. 1249. This prince dispossessed the Norwegians of the Hebudes and the Orkney islands, which they had long

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 166.
† Rapin's Hist. Eng. vol. 1, p. 236.
‡ Ibid. p. 245.

held

held in possession.* Scotland flourished under the reign of this prince; but his death ushered in a dreadful train of calamities. Having lost his only son and presumptive heir, and his daughter, the queen of Norway, being also dead, Alexander had assembled the barons of his kingdom, and prevailed on them to swear, that in case of his death without male issue, they would acknowledge his grand-daughter, the young princess Margaret of Norway, for their queen. The death of this monarch, occasioned by a fall from his horse, happened A.D. 1285, about two years and a half after having thus regulated the succession. At his demise, Margaret of Norway was only three years old, and a regency was consequently established. A treaty was also concluded between Eric king of Norway, her father, Edward I. king of England, her great-uncle, and the regency of Scotland, by which it was agreed that the young princess should be educated at the court of England, and married to the heir apparent of that crown.*

Thus did the prudent Edward project the beneficial measure of the union of the two kingdoms, which so long afterwards took place. Providence, however, was at that time pleased to disappoint the design. The young princess died in her passage. And Scotland was split into factions by the competition for her vacant throne. The two principal candidates were Robert Bruce and John Baliol, the former grandson, the latter great-grandson of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. The former of these kings dying without issue, and the race of the latter being extinct in the princess of

* Anderson on the Authority of Skene, Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 226.

† Rapin's Hist. Eng. vol. 1, p. 365.

 Norway,

Norway, the succession necessarily reverted to the posterity of David, which had originally consisted of three daughters. Deverguld, his grand-daughter by the eldest, was alive, and had transferred her right to John Baliol, her son. Robert Bruce, although descended from a younger daughter, was one degree nearer in consanguinity to the original stock. Both the competitors were possessed of several great baronies; both were allied to some of the principal families in the kingdom, and supported by a powerful faction. The Scotch nobility, therefore, to avoid the calamities of a civil war, referred to the king of England the decision of this important affair, without foreseeing the consequences of so dangerous a measure, as thus throwing themselves into the hands of an enterprising and politic monarch, commanding a powerful and warlike people, and at peace with all the world.

Edward being thus chosen the umpire of this important question, considered it as a fit opportunity for reviving the claim of sovereignty over Scotland, which Henry II. had established and compelled William the Lion to acknowledge, although Richard I. had renounced all pretensions of that nature. It is not to our present purpose to examine these claims, which Rapin and other historians have so amply detailed, and so minutely investigated, and which are now wholly uninteresting. It suffices to say, that Edward and his agents ransacked the fabulous tales and partial testimony of Saxon chroniclers, from the reigns of Edward the Elder and Athelston, his son. Treaties of princes, and briefs of popes, were dragged from oblivion, and the early historians of both kingdoms brought in evidence. The Scots, at that time, acknowledged

ledged the paramount authority of England, but afterwards adduced a multitudinous mass of arguments to invalidate her claims. Some, however, think that Edward clearly proved his right of sovereignty from the most authentic records, while others esteem his allegations ill-founded, and his precedents suppositious. Historians are divided on the subject, and the question remains undecided.* The consequences, however, were severely felt by both kingdoms, but especially by Scotland, which, in addition to the calamities of civil war, was exposed to foreign invasion, and nearly subjected to a foreign yoke. A war was kindled between England and Scotland which continued, with little intermission, more than seventy years, and was carried on with a degree of animosity seldom paralleled in the annals of Christian nations.

Under the pretext of examining, with greater solemnity, the different claims to the succession, Edward summoned all the barons of Scotland to Norham, where he opened the business by a declaration of his own paramount authority over the kingdom; adding, that in quality of sovereign lord of all Scotland, he was come to render impartial justice to all. He gave them three weeks to consider of the subject, during which time they were to prepare whatever they might object to his demands, and produce all the public acts and monuments by which they might think to invalidate his pretensions. At the time appointed, Bruce and Baliol, the two principal competitors, acknowledged Scotland to be a fief of the English crown, and swore fealty to Edward as their sovereign lord. The rest of the barons, being either gained or intimidated, followed their example. The

* Vide, on this subject, Rapin, vol. 1, book 9.

troops

troops which Edward had marched to Norham, under the ostensible pretext of guarding the states of Scotland, contributed not a little to strike them with terror. They considered it unsafe to disoblige the king, or to act in opposition to the candidates, one of whom was to be their master; and consequently the business was terminated without difficulty. But another step, still more important, remained to be taken. Edward represented to the competitors, that it was in vain to pronounce a sentence without the necessary powers for its execution, and demanded possession of the kingdom, in order to deliver it to him whose right should be deemed preferable. This demand was also agreed to; and the Earl of Angus was the only one of the barons who refused to deliver up, to a foreign power, the castles in his custody.* The whole series of these transactions seem to indicate a strange degree of pusillanimity in the nobles; but the two competitors, Baliol and Bruce, divided all Scotland between them, and their conduct determined that of the whole kingdom. In regard to the ultimate decision, impartial history must allow that Edward, throughout the whole of this important process, maintained at least the ostensible appearance of acting in conformity to established laws. Commissioners were appointed. The respective claims being examined in his presence, he propounded several questions concerning the Scottish laws of succession, and a variety of legal points were discussed and explained. The candidates presented their memorials, produced genealogies and precedents, and pleaded their own cause before the king and the commissioners. The whole business was conducted according to the most solemn

* Rapin's Hist. Eng. vol. 1, p. 367.

forms

forms of judicial enquiry. All this ostensible appearance of disinterested equity and impartial discussion, clothed with the venerable garb of legal forms, might, without prejudice to his designs, be easily preserved by Edward, in the midst of commissioners and clients devoted to his interest, or overawed by his power; and the Scottish historians consider his decision as pre-determined, in conformity to the deep laid plan of his own politics. Some of the best of them, however, do not deny its legality. That ingenious and elegant writer Dr. Robertson, thus exhibits his ideas of the union of legal propriety and political expediency in Edward's ultimate award. "According to the rules of succession," says that able historian, "which are now established, the right of Baliol was preferable; and notwithstanding Bruce's plea of being nearer in blood to Earl David, Baliol's claim, as the representative of his mother and grandmother, would be deemed incontestible." Immediately after, however, he adds, "But in that age the order of succession was not ascertained with the same precision. The question appeared to be no less intricate than it was important. Though the prejudices of the people, and, perhaps, the laws of the kingdom, favoured Bruce, each of the rivals was supported by a powerful faction." In the next page, he expresses, in these words, his opinion of the motives by which Edward was actuated in regard to his decision. "Edward, finding Baliol the most obsequious and the least formidable of the two competitors, soon after gave judgment in his favour." Whether the motives of justice or interest preponderated, in dictating this sentence, it is impossible to determine. Such, however, was the result of a business so intricate in its

nature and so disastrous in its consequences. The claims of Bruce and Baliol being formally discussed, eight more candidates brought forward their pretension; but their titles were found defective, and Edward pronounced Baliol feudatory king of Scotland, under the paramount sovereignty of himself and his successors. Baliol, by an authentic act, acknowledged, in the most express terms, the sovereignty of the English monarch over Scotland, did homage to him as his liege lord, and submitted to whatever conditions he was pleased to prescribe. This being the most important event in the political history of Scotland, at least so far as it is connected with that of England, it is here detailed at some length; but yet with all the precision that could be adopted, in exhibiting a distinct view of an affair, which, similar in its nature to the contested succession to the crown of France, between Edward III. and Philip of Valois, and to that of England between the two houses of York and Lancaster, was also productive of effects almost equally disastrous, and involved in the most dreadful calamities the inhabitants of both kingdoms. These events, and a multitude of others, which history records, shew the superior perfection of modern to that of ancient policy, in precisely ascertaining the laws of succession, and keeping the royal line as distinct as possible. Such is the nature of human affairs, that the contentions of the great, when carried to extremities, always bring misery on the people.

Throughout the whole of this intricate and important affair, it must be acknowledged that Edward, whatever may be said in regard to his justice, acted with consummate policy; but whether his subsequent conduct displayed the same characteristic, is, perhaps,

 somewhat

somewhat more problematical. Having placed, on the throne of Scotland, a vassal prince devoted to his interests, and obliged the nobles to resign the liberty and independence of their country, he imagined his dominion to be firmly established, and began too soon to let his new vassals feel the weight of his sovereignty. The fierce and formerly independent Scots bore with impatience a yoke to which they were unaccustomed. Baliol himself, being repeatedly harrassed with frequent summonses to appear in England, and answer before Edward to various complaints made against him by his own subjects, and often treated in the most humiliating manner, grew sensible of the degraded state of his vassallage. His passive spirit was at length roused to revolt, and entering into negotiations with France he began to adopt measures for asserting the independency of his kingdom. Edward, receiving intelligence of his designs, demanded possession of the castles of Berwick, Judburgh, and Roxburgh, as pledges of his fealty. Baliol, after some temporizing, not only refused these demands, but, relying on the assistance of France, renounced his vassallage. Edward, at the the head of a powerful army, immediately marched with great promptitude towards Scotland, where he was joined by Bruce and his party. It is said, that on this occasion he promised to place Bruce on the throne. Knowing how much expedition was necessary for preventing the preparations of Baliol, he accelerated his measures, and having surprised Berwick and defeated the Scots with great slaughter, advanced into the kingdom, and reduced fortress after fortress with amazing rapidity: Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Sterling, Perth, and all the principal places in the kingdom were successively conquered;

so

so that, before the end of the campaign, all Scotland was so completely subdued, that Baliol and the whole nation had no other resource than to throw themselves on his mercy. The king of Scotland, therefore, appearing before Edward with a white rod in his hand, formally resigned to him the kingdom, to be disposed of at his pleasure.

In order to confirm his new acquisition, Edward convened an assembly of the states of Scotland, at Berwick, where all the nobility and officers of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance to him as their lawful sovereign, on whom the crown was devolved, by the revolt of Baliol his vassal. Edward might there have been crowned king of Scotland; but his design was to unite the kingdom to England. The union of Wales with England had already been effected; and it was the grand object of Edward's politics to form the whole island of Great Britain into one united monarchy, a design which certainly tended to the general tranquillity of the country, and the happiness of its inhabitants; but Divine Providence had not fixed on that period for its accomplishment. This sagacious prince, however, omitted nothing that could contribute to secure his dominion over the kingdom which he had conquered. All the nobles and officers of Scotland were obliged to deliver to him the castles and places of which they were yet in possession. W. Douglas, the only one who refused, was sent prisoner to England, where he chose to end his days in confinement rather than to purchase his liberty by acknowledging Edward for his sovereign. All the other barons, whom it was thought necessary to secure, were, with Baliol, sent to England. Of these some were shut up in prisons, and others left at

liberty

liberty on condition of not passing to the north of the Trent under the penalty of death. Edward also removed to London the crown and sceptre with all the regalia of Scotland, as well as the public archives, and every other memorial of its former independence. Desirous to obliterate from the minds of the Scots every remembrance of their existence as a nation, he ransacked churches and monasteries, and destroyed or carried into England their historical monuments.* This destruction of the Scottish records throws a a singular obscurity on the history of that kingdom, which can only be collected from such imperfect chronicles as had escaped the general wreck; from the ill authenticated relations of foreign writers, and from various traditionary accounts, of which those relating to recent occurrences could alone be entitled to credit. From such broken fragments, Fordun, in the fourteenth century, compiled his history, which being continued by the monkish historians of succeeding times, served as the basis on which Boethius and Buchanan, authors equally inaccurate and credulous, constructed their elaborate works. Among the relics of Scottish antiquity Edward did not forget to remove from Scone to London, the celebrated fatidical stone on which the inauguration of the kings of Scotland used to be performed. The curious history of this shapeless stone, which is yet to be seen in Westminster Abbey, is not unconnected with that of the human mind, as it shews the power of superstition in ages of ignorance, and the influence of imagination over reason, especially when supported by traditionary legends. According to the best accounts, Kenneth I.

* This is supposed, by Tyrrel, to be a calumny invented by Boethius. It is, however, adopted by Robertson.

king of the Scots, having defeated the Picts near the monastery of Scone, with a dreadful slaughter, and almost exterminated their army, placed there a stone, which vulgar tradition reported to be the same that had once served Jacob for a pillow.* This stone, which Kenneth is said to have inclosed in a wooden chair for the inauguration of the Scottish kings his successors, was, according to the same tradition, brought by a Simon Brennus from Spain into Ireland, and afterwards from Ireland into Argyleshire; but no account is given of its journey from Palestine into Spain. Dignified by so noble a legend, it became an object of public veneration. From time immemorial the whole Scottish nation had annexed to this stone an idea of fatality; and upon it was this inscription:

"Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
"Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."
"Or fate's deceived and heaven decrees in vain,
"Or where they find this stone the Scots shall reign."

This stone, indeed, was regarded as the palladium of Scotland: the whole nation believed that while it remained in the country, the state would continue unshaken, but that its removal must be attended with great revolutions. Edward, therefore, knowing the power of imagination, in animating courage or producing pusillanimity, carried away this fatal stone, in order to excite in the Scots a belief that the time of the dissolution of their monarchy was arrived, and all hope of regaining their national independence extinguished. It is extremely probable that this curious monument of superstitious credulity, owed its origin to the policy of some barbarous chief of remote

* Genesis, ch. xxvii. 11 and 18 verses.

antiquity, desirous of inspiring his followers with an enthusiastic courage, or with a local attachment to some favorite spot, where he had fixed his colony and established the seat of his savage power.* Or it might, perhaps, in a later period, have been the invention of some more polished leader or classical monk, who had heard of the famous Palladium of Troy, of which that of Scotland, although better adapted to Christian ideas, may be considered as the copy and counterpart.†

In this moment of general consternation and dismay, when pusillanimity and terror seemed to have paralized the barons and people of Scotland, a new political phœnomenon appeared. An obscure individual of no high rank, and of still less fortune, rose to assert the honour and independence of his country, while the nobles and grandees of the kingdom, divided into factions, or, adhering to the conqueror, seemed desirous of perpetuating its slavery. That strenuous

* Various means were used by the founders of cities or monarchies among the ancients, to excite in the minds of the multitude a veneration for a particular spot, as may be seen in the Roman and other histories.

† " Fatale aggressi sacrato avellere templo
" Palladium, cæsis summæ custodibus arcis
" Corripuere sacram effigiem . . . ."

Virgil Æneid, lib. ii, 165.

" . . . . .nullique adspecta virorum
" Pallas, in abstruso pignus memorabile templo."

Lucan, lib. ix, 994.

This, or rather another image of Pallas, was afterwards brought to Alba, from whence, as Livy informs us, it was translated to Rome, and preserved in the temple of Vesta, with religious veneration, as the sacred pledge on which the fate of the Roman empire depended.

" Fatale pignus imperii Romani."

Livy, lib. 26, c. 27.

 patriot,

patriot, but barbarous warrior, William Wallace, to whom many fabulous exploits are ascribed, but who in reality possessed all the valour of Achilles, joined to the prudence of Ulysses, and in these two respects merited the pen of a Homer to celebrate his actions; ventured, almost singly, to attack the colossal power of the conqueror. His band of troops was so inconsiderable, and his progress so rapid, that the boldness and success of his enterprize are equally astonishing. His army, however, was daily increased by the numbers whom success allured to his standard. Having in a very short time recovered all the places which the English had held in their possession, except the single town of Berwick, his courage and conduct raised him so high in the esteem of the army, that he was, by a kind of military election, declared regent of the kingdom. Edward, who had engaged in a war with France, and was at that time in Flanders, agreed with the French king to refer their difference to the arbitration of Pope Boniface VIII, and returning home, turned all his attention to quell the Scottish revolt. Having entered Scotland, he advanced to Falkirk, where he met the enemy's army conducted by Wallace, and an obstinate battle again decided the fate of the kingdom. Although Edward had two of his ribs broken by a fall from his horse, in the beginning of the engagement, he kept the field, and commanded with the same presence of mind, as if no accident had happened.* The contest was obstinate and bloody, but the issue was fatal to the Scots, whose ferocious, but undisciplined bands, were not a match for Edward's veteran troops. Wallace was defeated with so prodigious a slaughter, that, according to some

* Rapin, vol. 1, p. 380.

authors,

authors, the Scots lost 60,000 men, while others reduce the number to 10,000, exhibiting in their contradictory narratives, another of those innumerable instances of the uncertainty of all circumstancial accounts, especially in regard to numerical statements. All that can with certainty be said is, that the slaughter of the Scots was dreadful, and Edward's victory complete. Improving his advantages, he recovered all the places of strength as rapidly as they had been lost; and may on this occasion be said to have a second time conquered Scotland. Wallace, with a few faithful followers, retired among the mountains and marshes which nature had rendered inaccessible to armies; and perceiving that his patriotic exertions inspired the nobles with jealousy, rather than emulation, he resigned the regency.

Comyn was, on his resignation, declared regent, an office at that time of little consequence, as it gave him authority over only a small part of the kingdom, and a few scattered troops who had escaped from the late battle. Through the mediation of Philip king of France, a truce for seven months was procured for such of the Scots as refused to submit to Edward's authority. This gave the new regent an opportunity of exciting the barons to shake off the English yoke. Roused by his exhortations, both the nobles and people immediately flew to arms. In a short time all Scotland rose as one man, the whole mass of the inhabitants, in the towns and in the country, taking arms the same day, and almost at the same hour. The English garrisons being every where attacked at the same moment, in so furious a manner that all resistance was ineffectual, had no other alternative than that of being put to the sword, or of surrendering on

 condition

condition of immediately evacuating the kingdom. This general revolt, which happened about the end of the year 1299, induced Edward to march early in the ensuing spring, and a third time to enter Scotland. The Scottish army, which consisted only of an ill-armed and undisciplined militia, not able to stand against Edward's veteran army, retired at his approach. The king, however, with his usual promptitude, pursued, overtook, and routed them in a decisive engagement. The shattered remains of their forces retreated into the marshes, which were known only to the natives, and amidst which the conquerors durst not continue their pursuit. Despairing of any good effects from further resistance, the Scots now had recourse to negotiation and intreaties; but the inexorable Edward rejecting all terms of reconciliation, and insisting on unconditional submission, they put themselves and their country under the papal protection, and made Boniface VIII. an offer of the sovereignty. This produced a brief from the Pope to Edward, exhibiting his own claim to the crown of Scotland. The English monarch assembled a Parliament at Lincoln for the purpose of deliberating on the pretensions of the Roman see. The papal brief was answered by a manifesto, asserting that England possessed from time immemorial the right of sovereignty over Scotland. This manifesto of the Parliament was followed by a memorial from the king, in justification of his measures, in which, if he could not equal the Pope in sanctity, he resolved to outdo him in antiquity. Improving on that presented to the Scottish barons at Norham, in which he carried his claim no higher than Edward the father of Athelston, he now derived it from Brutus, the first fabulous king of Britain, and

 traced

traced it through the reigns of all the fictitious monarchs, with whose names and exploits Geoffrey of Monmouth had embellished his historical romance. This letter being written in the most respectful manner, without any expressions that could be offensive to his Holiness, the difference between Edward and the Pope was accommodated, and at the solicitation of the French king, the truce with the revolted Scots was prolonged. At its expiration, Edward sent Segrave, governor of Berwick, with a formidable force to renew the war, and complete the reduction of Scotland. This general apprehending no danger from the Scots, whom he considered as unable to make any resistance, divided his army into three columns, in order more completely to ravage the country. Meeting, however, unexpectedly with the Scotch army under the command of Comyn and Frazer, all the three bodies were successively defeated. In consequence of this disaster, Edward the next year, 1303, entered the fourth time into Scotland, with so numerous an army, that he penetrated to the extremities of the kingdom, and ravaged the country without meeting with any considerable resistance, the Scots being unable to oppose so formidable a power. Wallace alone, with a body of troops, continually harrassed him, and revenged the Scots on such of the English soldiers as happened to stray from the main body of the army. Sterling Castle was besieged the whole winter, and was at last obliged to capitulate. By its surrender, Edward became master of all the fortified places, and in this fourth expedition completed his third conquest of Scotland. A few determined patriots, however, .etreating to places inaccessible to hostile approach, still held the conqueror's power at defiance; but

but Wallace, the principal instigator and soul of revolt, being betrayed into the hands of the English, was tried, condemned, and executed, as guilty of treason. His head was, by Edward's command, placed upon London Bridge, and his four quarters hung up in the four principal towns of Scotland. Here, as in many other cases, we have an opportunity of considering the difficulty of making a just estimate of actions from the echos of common fame, and the ipse dixit of partial or inconsiderate writers. This extraordinary severity to the Scottish patriot, is universally regarded as an indelible blemish on Edward's memory; but if the cruelties imputed to Wallace had any foundation in fact, his punishment must be regarded as a just retribution.* Indeed, if the whole conduct of those conspicuous characters, who in all ages and countries have fallen by the hand of violence, could be minutely investigated, they would often be found, although less fortunate, little less criminal than their oppressors; and the distributive justice of Providence would appear more impartially dealt than superficial observers can perceive. But so often are we the dupes of misrepresentation, and so prone to hasty decision, that the illustrious victim of oppression and violence, who has himself sacrificed at the shrine of his ambition, his avarice or his resentment, thousands of inferior celebrity, appears in our eyes arrayed in the spotless robes of innocence. In contemplating his sufferings, we forget those which he has inflicted on others. Historians deplore his fate, and blazon

* Rapin, in one part of his history, seems inclined to question the truth of the cruelties imputed to Wallace, although in another he mentions them in terms of ositive assertion. Vide Hist. Eng. vol. 1, p. 380 and 383.

his

his virtues, and in commemorating his misfortunes, endeavour to excite an ill-judged compassion.

The Scots so many times vanquished, as often rebelled; no disasters could extinguish their martial genius, nor bring their independent minds to submit to a foreign yoke. Bruce, the rival of Baliol, being dead, his son, the famous Robert I, resolved to assert with his sword, his claim to the crown of his ancestors. He then resided at London, as a prisoner at large, and finding that Edward had received intelligence of his design, immediately made his escape. Being arrived in Scotland, and suspecting the fidelity of Comyn with whom he had concerted his plan and maintained a constant correspondence, he met with a messenger charged with letters from that nobleman to the king. Having seized the messenger, and examined his dispatches, his suspicions were confirmed.* In consequence of this discovery, he immediately repaired to Dumfries, where meeting with Comyn, he stabbed him with his own hand.† Having thus drawn the sword, he had no other alternative than to throw away the scabbard, and fully convinced that prompt and decisive measures could alone afford any hope of success or safety, he assumed the regal title, and was solemnly crowned at Scone. The new king of Scotland soon dispossessed the English of many of their fortified places; but the Earl of Pembroke having entered the kingdom with a numerous army, defeated him in two successive engagements. Bruce being now reduced to the last extremity, was obliged to escape out of Scotland, and to take refuge in the Hebudes, while Edward advancing with a

* Buchanan, lib. 8.

† Matt. West, p. 452.

powerful army, sent out detachments on all sides to seize his adherents, to whom no mercy was shewn. Three brothers of the new king fell on the scaffold. His queen being taken, and sent into England, was kept in close confinement. The bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews would also have fallen a sacrifice to Edward's vengeance, had he not stood in awe of the Pope. The countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, having assisted at Robert's coronation, was put in a wooden cage, and hung up on the walls of Berwick, as an object of ridicule to the people. Mary, the other sister, underwent the same fate at Roxburg. The Earl of Athol, allied to the royal families, both of Scotland and England, and consequently Edward's relative, was distinguished from the rest by the fatal honour of being hanged on a gallows of an extraordinary height. Dreadful instances of Edward's inexorable severity, and of the ferocious spirit of the times.

Edward having taken a severe vengeance on such of king Robert's adherents as had been unfortunate enough to fall into his hands, retired to Carlisle, where he summoned the last Parliament of his reign, in order to deliberate on the means of securing the possession of Scotland, by finally uniting it to England. Shortly after, supposing the Scots completely disabled from making any further resistance, he left the command of the army to the Earl of Pembroke, and returned to London in order to concert his future plans. Robert no sooner heard of his absence, than sallying from his retreat he assembled the scattered remains of his army, reinforced it with fresh supplies, which the Scotch barons brought from all quarters, and attacked the English general, whom he totally

totally defeated and took prisoner. He then marched against the Earl of Gloucester, whom he obliged to retreat to the castle of Ayre, and afterwards took and dismantled several towns, that he might not be under the necessity of leaving garrisons, as well as in order to prevent them from affording any shelter to the English. Edward, surprised and exasperated at this unexpected revolution, summoned all the barons of his realm to meet him at Carlisle, in the summer A.D. 1307, under the penalty of forfeiting their fees, resolving to draw out the whole military force of his kingdom, and to render Scotland from one extremity to the other an entire scene of desolation. But Divine Providence having ordained that the union of the two kingdoms should at last be effected by more peaceable, as well as more equitable means, disappointed his sanguinary design. Being arrived at Carlisle, and ready to carry fire and sword into every corner of the devoted kingdom, he fell sick of a disentery, and soon after died at Burgh on the sands, leaving the execution of his projects to his son and successor, to whom he gave strict charge never to grant peace or truce till the final subjugation of Scotland should be accomplished.*

Robert Bruce immediately prepared to take advantage of the consternation of the English, occasioned by the death of their king; but a violent fit of sickness prevented him from carrying his measures into effect. The new king of England advancing as far as Dumfries, struck the whole kingdom with terror. Nothing could exceed the perplexity of the Scots on this occasion; their king being dangerously ill, and their forces, both in numbers and discipline, far inferior to

* Vide England Historical Ch. vol. 1. p. 224.

those

those of the enemy. Edward's return into England, after leaving the command of the army to John Comyn, a Scotch baron, was a matter of suprize to both kingdoms; and re-animated the hopes of the Scots not less than it excited the murmurs of the English. Nothing, indeed, could be more strange than the conduct of Edward II. in thus relinquishing the conquest of Scotland, when the number and ardour of his troops, and king Robert's sickness, promised him almost certain success. But the new king of England had not the warlike inclinations of his predecessor, and the blandishments of a court were to him more alluring than the hardships and hazards of a campaign. His appointment of Comyn to the command, was also a subject of offence to the army. This general, although the determined enemy of king Robert, was a Scot; and the English thought themselves dishonoured by the preference given to a foreigner. Disaster was the consequence of these discontents. Comyn, willing to take advantage of Robert's sickness, whom he supposed incapable of heading his army, advanced in order to attack the Scots. The latter, though he found himself extremely weak, thought that in so critical a juncture flight or retreat might dishearten his troops, and eventually occasion the loss of his kingdom. Having, therefore, mounted his horse supported by two esquires, he drew up his army, and with a composure that produced a wonderful effect, waited the approach of the enemy. Victory soon declared in his favour; and the defeat of the English was the more astonishing, as, besides being superior in numbers, they were the very same troops who had vanquished the Scots in so many engagements. But Edward I. was no more.

After

After this retreat Comyn retired into England, and Robert ravaged the whole county of Argyle, which still belonged to the English. Edward Bruce, his brother, also defeated another English army in the county of Galloway; and from that time the Scots no longer dreaded the army of England.*

The troubles of England, on account of Gaviston, prevented that court from paying any great attention to the affairs of Scotland. It is, however, said that Edward II. in 1307, the second of his reign, led an army in person into Scotland; but not having provided for its subsistence, and finding the country laid waste before him, returned without effecting anything of importance. In two successive years, 1310 and 1311, Bruce had made two desultory expeditions into England, and carried off a great booty; and the year following he recovered Perth, Lancrie, Dumfries, and Roxburgh. The Isle of Man voluntarily submitted to his dominion; and the castle of Edinburgh being carried by assault, he became master of all the fortified places except Sterling castle, which was then the strongest in Scotland. The next year, 1313, he sent his brother to lay siege to that important fortress, which was vigorously assaulted, and as bravely defended. But Philip Mowbray, the governor, finding no measures taken for his relief, concluded an agreement

* The preceding is Rapin's account, which, however, is materially contradicted by his commentator. The latter, on the authority of the Federa; and the Chronicle of Lanerc, says, "that the commission of Guardian of Scotland, was conferred Sept. 1307 on John, earl of Bretagne, who defeated Bruce and compelled him to fly into the highlands." This account, however, does not appear very probable; or at least the losses of Bruce had soon been repaired. Rapin himself quotes the authority of the same Chronicle for Edward Bruce's victory in Galloway but does not distinctly mention the year.

ment with the Scots, by which he engaged to deliver up the place at the end of a year, if not sooner relieved by reinforcements from England.

This train of events, so favourable to the Scots and so disastrous to their enemies, now threatened the complete expulsion of the English, and roused their king to decisive exertion. He therefore summoned all his vassals to meet him with their troops. The general rendezvous was fixed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and so great was the alacrity of all, that Edward saw himself at the head of 100,000 men English, Welsh, Gascons, and Irish. To this numerous army the king of Scotland could oppose no more than 30,000 men; but these were inured to war, and had frequently been victorious. Edward, entering the country without opposition, advanced towards Sterling, while Robert made every preparation to give him a vigorous reception. Considering the superiority of numbers with which he had to contend, he judiciously drew up his army on an advantageous ground, where craggy rocks on one of the flanks, and a deep morass on the other, prevented it from being surrounded. The Scots being resolved to conquer or die, received the English with such steady and determined resolution, that they soon threw their numerous army into confusion, and routed them with a most dreadful slaughter. This decisive battle was fought near a small river, called Bannockburn, on the 25th of July A.D. 1314; and, since the memorable day of Hastings, England had never received so terrible a defeat. The different historians, as is ever the case, perplex us with the discordant accounts of this battle and the loss there sustained. The Earl of Gloucester, nephew of the King of England, with many other

great

great lords of distinction, and according to some 700 knights, were left dead on the field; while others assert that the whole number of English earls, barons, and knights, killed and taken prisoners, amounted to no more than 154.* The Scotch historians make the whole loss of the English amount to 50,000, and say that the number of prisoners taken was greater than that of the victorious army. The English, on the contrary, reduce the number of their slain to 10,000. Amidst the discordancies of historical details we might be eternally bewildered, if consequences did not elucidate those facts which contradictory evidence labours to obscure. In military history, especially, we have here a rule which is almost infallible. Reasoning on this principle, it is evident that the victory of the Scots was decisive, and the loss of the English exceedingly great, as the latter made a precipitate retreat, not thinking themselves in safety until they reached York, and never more ventured to face the King of Scotland in the field. The Scots, on the contrary, acquired an evident superiority; and were, so long as the war continued, invariably successful. Robert at last besieged and took the strong frontier town of Berwick, and himself and his generals ravaged most of the northern borders of England. Not contented with his successes in Britain, he attempted the conquest of Ireland. Having sent his brother Edward thither for that purpose, he afterwards followed in person; but finding on his arrival, that his brother was defeated and slain in battle by the Archbishop of Dublin, general of the English army, or as some say taken prisoner, and hanged at Dundalk,† he thought it best

* Walsingham, p. 105.
† Ibid, p. 111.

to desist from the enterprize, in order to improve the advantages gained by his armies in Britain.

Since the conquering days of Edward I. when the English were always victorious, the scales had surprizingly turned; and they found themselves utterly unable to check the progress of the Scottish king. In this disastrous state of affairs, Edward II. found himself obliged to have recourse to the Pope, as the Scots had done in the days of his father, and with nearly the same success. He earnestly intreated his Holiness to procure him a peace, or at least a truce with Scotland. John XXII. who then filled the papal chair, immediately complied with his request, and undertook to make peace between the kings of England and Scotland, not as a mediator, but in the character of sovereign arbitrator. For this purpose he sent into England two legates, with a commission to conclude a peace between the two contending princes, and to compel both parties to accept it, under pain of excommunication and interdict. The Scottish monarch, however, perceiving the condition of the treaty to be decidedly partial to England, rejected the papal arbitration. The legates in consequence pronounced sentence of excommunication against him, and laid an interdict on his kingdom. Robert, in the meanwhile, regardless of a censure which he considered as unjust, continued the war and committed great ravages. He plundered and burnt Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and many other places, and almost desolated the northern parts of England.† The English were every where beaten, and had, at the same time, the mortification to find the spiritual arms of Rome unsuccessful. After

* Walsingham, p. 112.

ter much solicitation, however, they obtained, A.D. 1319, a truce for two years. This short period was no sooner elapsed than Edward, who had just reduced the associated barons of his kingdom to submission, flattered himself with an expectation of equal success against his foreign enemies. Having, therefore, made great preparations for the invasion of Scotland, in hopes of repairing all his former losses by one grand effort, he entered that kingdom in the month of July 1323; but from his improvidence, and the precaution of his enemies, this, like his former expeditions, was only a series of disasters. Having neglected the proper means of furnishing his army with provisions, an imprudence which his former experience might have corrected, while the Scots, by removing or destroying every article of subsistence, had effectually deprived him of any supplies in their country, his ill-concerted measures rendered a retreat indispensably necessary. This, however, was only the beginning of his disasters. The English no sooner began their retreat than the king of Scotland, appearing at the head of his army, pursued and overtook them at a place called Blackmore. Here they were not only defeated with the loss of their baggage, but the whole army was almost totally dispersed, and Edward himself narrowly escaped. The Scottish king continuing his march, desolated the country with fire and sword, as far as to the very walls of York; and having burned the monastery of Ripon and plundered the abbey of Beverley, returned to his kingdom with a great booty.* Being desirous, however, of giving some respite to his kingdom, exhausted by those long and bloody wars, and of a reconciliation with the court

* Rapin, vol. 1. p. 397.

of

of Rome, he consented to a truce for thirteen years. By this treaty, concluded A.D. 1323, a temporary stop was put to those ravages, which, during so long a time, had almost desolated so considerable a part of Great Britain. This period, notwithstanding the frequent recurrence of bloody wars between the two kingdoms, may be considered as the epoch of the complete restoration of the Scottish monarchy.

The space of time which elapsed from the death of Alexander III, A.D. 1285, to the conclusion of this truce, includes a period of thirty-eight years of indescribable calamity to the inhabitants of this island. Both Scotland and England had experienced the direful effects of a war, carried on with little regard to humanity. Almost the whole of the former, and a very considerable part of the latter kingdom, had repeatedly been ravaged and devastated, with a ferocity of which a modern reader can scarcely form any idea. The severity of Edward I. excited a bitter animosity between the two nations, which mutual injuries and constant retaliation kept alive, while the ferocious manners of the age tinctured all their conduct with barbarity, and merciless devastation marked the footsteps of their armies. The events of this period which, however unpleasing, is highly interesting to the now happy inhabitants of the united kingdom of Great Britain, exhibit the contrast between ancient and modern times.

During the latter part of the reign of Robert I, Scotland was in the zenith of her glory. The whole life of that monarch had been a scene of extraordinary exertion attended with uncommon success. For this, however, he might perhaps be in a great measure indebted to the death of Edward I. at

so momentous a crisis. Robert's abilities were certainly of the most eminent class; but, had his destiny compelled him to contend with the warlike genius and enterprising spirit of the first Edward, instead of the pusillanimity and improvidence of his successor, it is impossible to say on which side success would have rested. In the whole series of history, the statesman or the warrior will find few more curious subjects of contemplation, than the revolution effected by the critical death of Edward, at the very commencement of Bruce's revolt.

This important period of the Scottish history being fully exhibited to the view, the remainder, consisting for the most part of details of a less interesting nature, will admit of a greater brevity. Robert I. was succeeded by David II, his son, a prince of no mean abilities, but who met with a more formidable opponent than any with whom his father had ever been engaged. Although David had married the sister of Edward III, king of England, that alliance did not prevent the latter from meditating the conquest of Scotland. The revival of the claim of the Baliol family to the crown, the expulsion of David, and the battle of Hallydown-hill, have already been mentioned.* During the course of this war, Edward made several expeditions into Scotland, both by land and sea, and ravaged the country almost to its northern extremities; but being engaged in his contests with Philip de Valois, on the subject of the French succession, the final result of the Scottish wars was the expulsion of Baliol, in his turn, and the re-establishment of David. The subsequent misfortune of this prince, in being taken prisoner at Durham, hi eleven years captivity at London, and

* Vide Eng. Hist. vol. 1, p. 229.

the sum of 90,000 marks paid for his ransom, are circumstances already mentioned in treating of the reign of Edward III.

The feudal system, as already observed, had before this period begun to be somewhat weakened in England; but in Scotland it retained its full vigour, or rather was daily augmented. In the former country, although the power of the barons over their vassals still continued the same, it was much diminished in regard to the crown: in the latter, their power over the monarch grew still more absolute. In England they had frequently revolted, and often been subdued: commerce was more advanced, and the opulence of some trading towns, especially London, began to counterbalance the power of the nobles. Scotland was, in this respect, far behind England: her commerce was much less extensive, and her wealth exceedingly disproportionate. Political events had also not a little contributed to augment the power and influence of the Scottish nobility. Robert Bruce had been elevated to the throne by his barons, and they knew how to appreciate the services which they had rendered him. The reign of David II, his son, was not less favorable to the extension of the baronial powers. The success which attended the arms of Edward III. of England, obliged the young king to fly into France, where he remained during nine years. The nobles of Scotland, in the mean while, disgusted with Baliol, took up arms, expelled him from the kingdom, established a regency, and carried on the war against him and his English allies. In these turbulent times, the revolutions of property, as well as of power, were frequent and sudden. It seems to have been an established maxim, among the Scotch nobles of that

age,

age, that every chieftain had a right to possess the territory which his sword had wrested from the enemy; and many, by these means, had made great acquisitions. David, on his return and resumption of the government, was far from being in a condition to diminish the influence of those, to whom he owed the preservation of his kingdom, and on whom he entirely depended for support. Prompted, therefore, by gratitude and interest, he augmented the possessions and power of those nobles, whose adherence to his cause had restored him to royalty, by distributing among them the forfeited estates of his enemies.

David II, dying A.D. 1371, the crown devolved on the house of Stuart, the head of which had married the daughter of Robert I. The first king of that family was Robert II, whom the Scotch historians represent as a prince of great talents, both for war and for peace; but, as Dr. Robertson observes, they have been more careful to relate the military than the civil transactions of his reign. "Skirmishes and inroads of little consequence," says that ingenious writer, "they describe minutely; but, with regard to every thing that happened, during several years of tranquillity, they are altogether silent." This reproach, indeed, is applicable to the historians of all other nations, as well as to those of Scotland. This prince was succeeded by his son, Robert III, whose infirm and sickly constitution incapacitated him for performing the functions of royalty, and obliged him to entrust the administration of affairs to his brother, the Duke of Albany. Robert, suspecting that the duke had formed the design of transferring the crown to his own family, resolved to send his son James into France, in order to secure him from any traitorous attempt.

 But

But the young prince was intercepted in his passage by the English; and, after a long captivity, was obliged to pay an exorbitant ransom. His detention, however, was, in a great measure, compensated by the excellent education which he received at the court of England, in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. His long residence in this country, afforded him an opportunity of observing the feudal system in its softened and ameliorated form, and refined from that lawless ferocity in which it appeared in his own kingdom. During his absence, the barons of Scotland had rendered themselves independent of all control. In England he had seen a new order of things; nobles great but not independent, a well arranged system of laws, and a regular administration of government. But Scotland presented a different scene. "Universal anarchy," says Dr. Robertson, "prevailed. The weak were exposed to the oppression of the strong. In every corner, some barbarous chieftain ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the king, nor pitied the people."* Such was the aspect of Scotland at the accession of James I. to its degraded and dependent throne; and, to remedy so disorderly a state of things, was the principal business of his reign. He was too prudent to employ open force for the accomplishment of his purpose; and chose the gentler, but more effectual remedy, of laws and statutes. Having called a Parliament, he obtained an act, empowering him to summon such as had, during the three preceding reigns, obtained possession of any crown lands, to produce the titles by which they held them. In a subsequent Parliament, another statute was enacted, by which all those leagues and combinations, which had

* Hist. Scotland, vol. 1, p, 251.

formerly

formerly rendered the nobles so formidable to the crown, were strictly prohibited. His next measure was the seizure of the Duke of Albany and his sons, together with the Lord Lennox, who were all tried and condemned by their peers; but on what charge, cannot now be ascertained. Their execution having struck the whole order of the nobility with terror, while their forfeitures added considerable possessions to the crown, the king proceeded still farther, and began to resume several of the crown lands, which had been granted to different lords by the two dukes of Albany. It is unnecessary to say, that these measures at length alarmed the whole body of the nobility. An assembly of turbulent barons, who had not been much accustomed to calculate the consequences of legislative ordinances, appears to have made little opposition to the establishment of laws, which evidently militated against their authority; but, when they began to feel their operation, the whole order immediately took the alarm. A conspiracy was, in consequence, formed against the king, who was murdered at a monastery near Perth, A.D. 1437, in the forty-fourth year of his age. James was a prince of great abilities. Had his kingdom been more civilized, his reign might have been happy. That his political maxims were too refined for the age in which he lived, was his principal misfortune.

The vigorous reign of James I, was succeeded by the long minority of James II. Crichton, who had the chief direction of affairs, had been the minister of James I. He had imbibed his master's political sentiments in regard to humbling the aristocracy, and forcibly impressed them on the mind of his pupil. But what James I. laboured to accomplish gradually

 and

and by legal means, his successor attempted with a precipitancy and violence, characteristic of the age. The celebrated family of Douglas, had, in the reign of Robert I, begun to rise above the rest of the nobility, and had increased both its possessions and its power during that of David II, his son and successor. William, the sixth Earl of that name, rivalled the monarch in magnificence and splendor. Two thousand horsemen composed his ordinary retinue; and the number of his vassals and retainers, enabling him to set the royal power at defiance, this young nobleman almost openly aspired to independence. Chrichton, the regent, finding the royal authority too weak to punish so powerful an offender, decoyed him, by fair promises, to an interview in the castle of Edinburgh, where he murdered both him and his brother. James II, having attained to the age of maturity, and assumed the reins of government, resolved to employ every means for depressing the nobility. William, Earl of Douglas, who was neither less powerful, nor less formidable to the crown, than his predecessor, whom Chrichton had murdered, having formed a league with many other great barons, had united almost half of the kingdom against the sovereign authority. But his credulity led him into the same snare, which had proved so fatal to his predecessor. Relying on the king's promises, and on a safe conduct granted under the great seal, he suffered himself to be allured to an interview at Sterling Castle, where James, with his own hand, stabbed him to the heart. This unprincipled action of the king, filled the nation with astonishment and horror. The new Earl of Douglas put himself at the head of his confederates and vassals. The king advanced with his forces. Those of the earl were vastly superior in

 numbers;

numbers; but, when they expected the signal to engage, he ordered a retreat to the camp. Disgusted at this mark of pusilanimity, many of his most zealous adherents immediately abandoned him. Being soon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to seek refuge in England, his vast possessions were seized by the king. The ruin of that great family, which had so long overawed the crown, exhibiting so terrible an instance of unsuccessful ambition, seemed to paralize the turbulent and enterprising spirit of the nobles; and the royal authority remained uncontrolled. James, resolving to improve so favorable an opportunity, summoned a Parliament, and obtained a variety of statutes advantageous to the royal prerogative, and subversive of the baronial powers and privileges. During the whole course of his reign, he pursued, with unremitted perseverance and vigour, the plan which he had so successfully commenced, and undoubtedly would have completed, had not his sudden death, in the thirtieth year of his age, occasioned by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburg, which was then in the possession of the English, cut him off in the midst of his career, and freed the nobility of Scotland from the iron hand of a master, whose genius and courage threatened the total extinction of their privileges and powers.

In the conduct of James III, his successor, all the errors of a feeble mind were conspicuous. He was no less than his father and grandfather, the declared enemy of the nobility; but was far inferior to them in capacity and courage. Every measure of James II. had effectually tended to undermine some of the pillars on which aristocracy rested; but, through the injudicious conduct of his son, it regained its former stability.

stability. He aimed at the depression of the nobles; but, as his plans were impolitic, his reign was disastrous, and its termination was tragical. In the year 1488, and the 36th of his age, he fell in battle against his barons, who had formed a confederacy with the Duke of Rothsay at their head.

James IV. was in his disposition generous and brave, a lover of magnificence, and ambitious of fame. Animated with the spirit of chivalry, he honoured the barons with his confidence, and experienced from them a suitable return of duty and affection. During his reign the enmity between the crown and the nobles seems to have ceased. But though this Prince formed no projects detrimental or dangerous to the aristocracy, yet the close of his reign was distinguished by an event, which, in other circumstances, might have proved fatal to its interests. Having rashly invaded England, while Henry VIII. was in France, he and most of his greatest lords fell in the famous battle of Flodden, fought with the English under the command of the Earl of Surrey, A.D. 1513. James IV. fell in the fortieth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. His body was never found, and various reports were propagated concerning his fate. However, it is certain that, after the engagement, he was never more seen. On that memorable day, the Scots lost, besides their king, one archbishop, two bishops, one abbot, twelve earls, and seventeen other great barons, with 8000 or 10,000 common soldiers.* This was a terrible disaster to the aristocratic order; and if a prince of full age, possessing the same talents, and actuated by the same

* Tindal's notes on Rapin on the authority of Lord Herbert, Hall and Stow.

views

views as James I. or James II. had then ascended the throne, he would not have found the subversion of the feudal system in Scotland a work of any great difficulty. Before this disastrous expedition, no military event of singular importance had occurred since the wars between David II. and Edward III.; and although hostilities with England had often been renewed, the scenes which they exhibited are little interesting to posterity.

The frequent contests between the crown and the aristocracy, and the deadly animosity which mostly subsisted between the kings and barons of Scotland, are subjects more worthy of attention, as they tend to develope the state of society, a theme which historians have too much neglected. The aristocratic body had received a dreadful blow at the battle of Flodden; but that misfortune was succeeded by a long minority, which afforded the nobles an opportunity of regaining their power. James V. was, at his accession, an infant of one year old. The office of regent was conferred on his cousin, the Duke of Albany; who, although a man of genius and enterprize, soon discovered the impotence of his authority. Although he made several attempts to extend the royal prerogative, the barons, with equal resolution, asserted their privileges, and, taking advantage of the minority of their king, set the power of the regent at defiance. The duke, therefore, after many unsuccessful struggles, voluntarily retired into France. The king having, in the seventeenth year of his age, assumed the reigns of government, not without the consent of the nobles, who appointed eight of their body o assist him in the administration, soon found himself in a disagreeable predicament. The Earl of

Angus,

Angus, one of the number, having gained some of his colleagues and intimidated the rest, acquired the absolute possession both of the regal authority and person of the king, who had sagacity enough to observe, that although nominally a monarch he was actually a prisoner. In spite of the violence of those whom the earl had appointed to watch all his motions, he escaped to Sterling, the only place in the kingdom which afforded him a prospect of safety. There he was joined by many of the nobles, who were incensed at the overbearing ambition of Angus; and that powerful earl and his adherents were obliged to take refuge in England.

James now enjoyed not only the name but the authority of king, and though young, had from nature an excellent understanding; but his education had been neglected. His heart was good, but his passions were violent; and his conduct displayed the characteristics of a great but uncultivated mind. He had early imbibed an implacable hatred against the nobles; and the plan which he formed for their depression, was more systematic than that of any of his predecessors. Convinced of the inability of the regal power to accomplish that purpose, he resolved to counterbalance the influence of the aristocracy by the exaltation of the clergy; which, being under the feudal governments considered as a third estate, had always great weight in the parliaments. This powerful body was more dependant on the crown in Scotland, than in any other country.

The Papal See, notwithstanding its unremitted efforts for the extension of its authority, had, in a great measure, neglected Scotland as a poor kingdom, from which little emolument could be derived; and had left

to

to its princes the uncontrolled exercise of powers, which it had disputed with the sovereigns of more wealthy dominions. The Scottish monarchs possessed the sole right of nomination to bishoprics and abbeys;* and James very justly concluded, that those who expected preferment from his favour, would be the most willing to promote his designs. Many of the ecclesiastics were distinguished equally by their talents and their ambition; and James, being certain of so powerful a co-operation, entered with vigour on the execution of his plan. In the first place, he took the precautionary measure of repairing the fortifications of Edinburgh, Sterling, and other strong places, and of filling his magazines with arms and ammunition. Being thus prepared for every event, he no longer concealed his aversion to the nobles. All the offices of honour and emolument were bestowed on the clergy, and they alone had the management of public affairs. These ministers, of whom Cardinal Beatoun, a man of superior genius, was the principal, served the king with zeal, and carried on his measures with reputation and success. The balance of power in Europe was so equally poised, and the lustre of James's government was so great, that his alliance was courted by the courts of France and Rome, as well as by the Emperor and by his uncle, Henry VIII. of England. The King of Scotland, however, seemed to have little inclination to intermeddle with foreign affairs. His grand object was, the depression of the aristocratical order in his own kingdom: to this he directed all his attention, and suffered no opportunity of mortifying the nobles to escape. Their slightest

* Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 269. and authorities there quoted.

offences

offences were magnified by malevolent construction, and punished with extreme severity. Every accusation against a nobleman was received with pleasure: every suspicious circumstance was examined with rigour, and almost every trial terminated in the condemnation of the accused. The nobles observed, with fear and resentment, the tendency of schemes which seemed to have for their object, not only the depression, but even the destruction of the aristocracy; but the sagacity and vigilance of the king and his ministers, prevented them from taking any measures to prevent the impending ruin. While every thing at home seemed to extinguish their hopes, the general circumstances of Europe afforded them an advantage, which no efforts of their own could have procured. The doctrines of the reformation had made a considerable progress, not only on the Continent, but also in Great Britain; and Henry VIII. had seized the revenues of the church. That prince, apprehending an attack from the Pope and the Emperor, was desirous of entering into a close alliance with his nephew, the King of Scotland, and proposed an interview at York. The Scottish ecclesiastics, who had now attained to the acmé of their greatness, found themselves placed between two disagreeable alternatives. Henry had already endeavoured to infuse into his nephew, his own sentiments in regard to religion. The clergy knew the love of money to be a powerful stimulus; and they had reason to apprehend that, if the King of Scotland formed any close connection with his uncle, he might eventually be induced to follow his example, and also be supported by his power in carrying the same measures into xecution. On the other hand, the rejection of

 Henry's

Henry's overtures might be the cause of a war, which would naturally render the king more dependent on the nobles, and consequently diminish the influence of the clergy. One of the two alternatives, however, was to be adopted, and the latter was preferred. A rupture was the consequence, and an English army was ready to enter Scotland. James was now obliged to have recourse to his nobles, for the defence of his dominions. At his command, they assembled their followers, but with a full resolution to maintain their own cause against the king and his ministers, as well as against foreign enemies. The events of the war, soon presented an opportunity of shewing their disaffection. The rigour of the season, and the scarcity of provisions had obliged the English army to retire; and the Scottish king resolved to attack them in their retreat. But the barons, with a disdainful obstinacy which aggravated their disobedience, refused to advance beyond the limits of their country. Provoked at this insult, and suspecting a conspiracy, the king instantly disbanded an army which paid no respect to his orders. The violence of his grief at this disappointment, threw him into a melancholy bordering on despair. His ministers, however, in order to revive his spirits, projected another expedition; and some of the barons were prevailed on to muster 10,000 men, in order to make an inroad on the western borders of England. But nothing could diminish the king's aversion to the nobility, nor his jealousy of their power. These sentiments drove him into the imprudent measure of depriving them of the command of the troops which they had raised, by placing Oliver Sinclair, one of his favourites, at their head, which caused a general mutiny in the army. In this disorder they

they were attacked and routed by 500 English horse. Such were the effects of their hatred of the king, and their contempt of the general, that 10,000 men made so little resistance against so inferior a number, that no more than thirty were killed, while the prisoners amounted to above 1000, of whom 160 were persons of distinction.* This disaster reduced the king to despair. He now saw, that all attempts to depress the nobility were vain and ineffectual, and that whatever steps might be taken for this purpose in time of peace, they would in time of war rise to their former importance. His impetuous temper was incapable of bearing those insults which he could not revenge; and a settled melancholy succeeding to transports of rage, induced a sickness which terminated his career, A.D. 1542.

Mary, Queen of Scotland, whose beauty, misconduct, and misfortunes, have rendered her name famous in history, was born a few days before the death of her father; and her birth was an entrance into a whirlpool of troubles. An unnecessary and unsuccessful war with England, disunion among the nobles, and disputes concerning religion, all concurred to forebode a troublesome and turbulent reign. The prognostics arising from these unfavourable circumstances, were too soon and too amply verified; and the factions, which are natural to a system nearly aristocratical, were not long without shewing themselves under the government of a queen, who was yet in her infancy. The Cardinal Beatoun had, during the last reign, been all powerful; he was no favorite of the nation; and the regency was, by the nobles,

* Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 276, on the authority of the Hamilt. M.S. vol. 2.

unanimously

unanimously conferred on the Earl of Arran. The character of this nobleman was diametrically opposite to that of Beatoun. He was unaspiring, irresolute, and timid, a lover of ease, and little acquainted with business. The Cardinal was artful, bold, and ambitious, and consummately experienced in all the mysteries of political manœuvre. Out of hatred to the latter, however, the former was preferred to the regency; an office which he did not long hold, without incurring the displeasure of those who had made him the object of their choice.

Scotland had now acquired some consideration in the political system of Europe. From her situation, she had long been an useful ally to France; and England, instead of cultivating her friendship, had too frequently provoked her enmity. Henry VIII. however, desirous of adopting a different system of politics, projected the marriage of Edward his son with the young queen of Scotland. He entered, therefore, into a treaty with the Scots to that purpose, but demanded that the person of the queen, and the government of the kingdom, should be put into his hands during her minority. This proposal was rejected with disdain; but at length, through the influence of the regent, a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed to send Mary to Henry's court when she had attained the age of ten years, and to deliver six persons of the first rank to remain as hostages till her arrival. A treaty so disgraceful to Scotland, however, excited a general indignation. Cardinal Beatoun protested against its ratification, and by the assistance of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwel, and other nobles, seized the queen's person, and carried her to Sterling.

Sterling.* Thus the kingdom was divided into two powerful factions, and Henry resenting this treatment, a war with England aggravated its misfortunes. The English, under the Duke of Hereford, landing near Leith, plundered Edinburgh and the adjacent country. The Scots were still more exasperated against the English alliance, and more attached to France. While affairs were in this state, the Cardinal was murdered in the castle of St. Andrew, where he then resided. Norman Lesley, son of the Earl of Rothes, was at the head of this conspiracy, and with 150 men held the castle for the space of five months, against troops sent by the regency. So unskilful were the Scots in the art of attacking fortified places, that a body of troops were sent from France by Henry II, before the conspirators could be reduced to surrender. In regard to the war with England, the Duke of Somerset, now Lord Protector, entered Scotland with 18,000 men, and the Scots who were prepared for an attack, which they had expected, occupied with an army of more than double that number, an advantageous ground near the river Eske above Musselburg. The Protector perceived his danger, and would willingly have extricated himself by a treaty of peace. Although his proposals were rejected, the precipitancy of the Scots saved the English army from destruction. The regent, leaving his strong camp where it was impossible to be attacked, rashly ventured to engage the enemy near Pinkey, under great disadvantages. The result was, the total defeat of the Scottish army, with the loss of more than 10,000 men. This was the most fatal day that Scot-

* Robertson, vol. 1, p. 305.

land had seen since the memorable battle of Flodden. In almost all the wars of the Scots, their military conduct appears to have been characterised by a ferocious impetuosity, which often occasioned their defeat, when opposed to the cooler valour and more regular discipline of the English troops. If, however, their rash precipitancy was the cause of their disaster at Pinkey, the Duke of Somerset's neglect of improving the victory rendered it useless.

After the death of Cardinal Batoun, Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, took a considerable part in the direction of affairs; and the strength of the Scots being broken at Pinkey, the whole nation looked toward France for assistance. A treaty was concluded, by which the Scots disposed of their queen in marriage to the Dauphin, afterward Francis II, and sent her immediately to the court of France to be educated. A body of 6000 French troops were then sent into Scotland, as auxiliaries in the war against the English. This treaty was concluded A.D. 1548, and the infant queen, now six years old, was immediately carried to France, where she resided about thirteen years, the only interval of tranquillity and happiness that ever fell to her lot.

While Mary was enjoying the pleasures of the court of France, the only scene in which she ever experienced the smiles of fortune, Scotland, first under the regency of the Earl of Arran, who had been dignified with the title of Duke de Chatelherault, and afterwards of the queen dowager Mary de Guise, was rent by factions, and experienced all the direful effects of religious and feudal dissentions. The whole time which had elapsed from the death of James V, had been a season of anarchy, during which parties had risen

risen and fallen in rapid succession. To the commotions so common in every country, while the feudal system was in its vigour, and in none more than in Scotland, may be added those caused by the collision of the principles of the reformation, with the interests of a powerful hierarchy. Throughout Europe, the wealth of the church was exorbitant, but, in Scotland, it so far exceeded the just proportion, that not less than half of the national property was in the hands of the ecclesiastics.* The mode of its disposal, likewise, considerably increased their influence. Church lands being let on lease, at an easy rate, and possessed by the younger branches of great families, many estates in all parts of the kingdom were held of the church. This extraordinary share in the national property, was accompanied by a proportionable weight in the national councils. The number of temporal peers being small, and the lesser barons and representatives of boroughs seldom attending, the ecclesiastical members formed a very considerable body in the Scottish Parliaments, in which they possessed all the influence that exorbitant wealth, and superior talents, could give.†

A hierarchy established on so firm a basis, with so many pillars for its support, it was difficult to overturn. The progress of the reformation, however, gave a serious alarm to the clergy, and the sword of persecution was ineffectually drawn in defence of the privileges and emoluments of the church. It does not, however, appear that much blood was spilt in consequence of this antichristian measure, although it was not without considerable tumults, and a series

* Robertson, vol. 1, p. 349.

† Spotsw. Eccles. Hist. Scotland, 449.

of

of civil wars, excited by a mixture of religious and political motives, that a new order of things was introduced. The Scottish clergy, how powerful soever they were, soon found their influence diminished; and they neglected the only means which could have restored it, the reformation of their own morals, which were notoriously profligate.* The dissoluteness of their manners excited an odium, which prompted the people to question the utility of their office, and the truth of their doctrines.

In the Parliament of 1560, the reformed religion was established in Scotland, and the exercise of religious worship, according to the rites of the Roman church, was prohibited, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods for the first, banishment for the second, and death for the third offence. "Such strangers," says Dr. Robertson, "were men at that time to the spirit of toleration, and to the laws of humanity; and with such indecent haste did the very persons who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny, proceed to imitate those examples of severity, of which they themselves had so justly complained." The new system of church government, however, was yet to be modelled; and in this business Knox, a popular preacher, of a rude but energetic eloquence, of rigid morals, and republican ferocity, had a principal share. This reformer had long resided at Geneva, and considered the system of church government established by Calvin in that city, as the most perfect model for imitation. He therefore recommended it to his countrymen, and succeeded in accomplishing its establishment.

No part of the history of the Scotch reformation

* Keith, 208.

is more curious, than that which relates to the regulation of the external system of the church establishment, or at least to its emoluments. In regard to making a provision for the new clergy, the nobles were as dilatory in their proceedings, as they were prompt and impetuous in reforming doctrines and discipline. The disposal of the ecclesiastical revenue, was a measure of great importance, in which both public and private interest was concerned. To assign them to the protestant clergy, or to annex them to the crown, were considered by the nobles as measures of a dangerous tendency. The Romish ecclesiastics had acquired a far greater share of the national property, than was judged consistent with the good of the kingdom; and the nobles were determined to guard against that evil, by preventing the return of those possessions into the hands of the church. The annexation of so vast revenues to the crown, would have appeared still more alarming to the aristocracy. In a country, where the possessions of the clergy comprized so great a proportion of the national wealth, if the crown could have seized all the temporalities of the church, such an increase of power must have followed so vast an accession of property, as would have placed the royal authority above the controul of the aristocratic body, and effected the extinction of the baronial privileges. The nobles were, therefore, resolved to guard against such an augmentation of either the ecclesiastical or regal power, as might endanger their own independence. Considerations of a private nature, also, mingled themselves with a concern for the general interests of the aristocratical order. Many laymen were already enriched with the spoils of the church, and others devoured them in ex-

 pectation.

pectation. Not a few of the heads of religious houses had seized this favorable opportunity of gratifying ambition and avarice. The monks, being liberated from their confinement, dispersed themselves into different parts of the country, and generally engaged in some secular employment. The abbot having embraced the reformation from conviction or policy, seized and converted to his own use the whole revenue of the fraternity, except what he allowed for the subsistence of a few superannuated monks. Thus the great majority of the abbots and priors, having renounced their religion, still took care to hold their ancient revenues. Besides these, almost the whole order of bishops and other dignitaries, who still adhered to the religion of Rome, although debarred from the exercise of their spiritual functions, still continued in possession of their temporalities. Amidst the confusion of civil and religious contention, and the jarring opinions relative to the affairs of another world, every one took care to seize and to keep whatever he could lay hold of in this; so that before any part of the ancient ecclesiastical revenues could be applied towards the maintenance of the reformed clergy, a variety of different interests were to be adjusted. This was, at length, accomplished in a singular manner, the following plan being approved by a majority of voices. An exact account of the value of the ecclesiastical benefices throughout the whole kingdom was ordered to be taken. The present incumbents, whether Catholic or Protestant, were allowed to keep possession: two thirds of their revenue were reserved for their own use, and one third was annexed to the crown, which, out of that pittance, was charged with the maintenance of the Protestant clergy, who were left in a deplorable

state of indigence by this extraordinary decision. In this condition they remained a long time; and, it was not until after various regulations, and the cessation of civil discord, that they obtained stipends sufficient to support them in a style of decency suited to the character of ministers of religion. At the period of which we are speaking, about 24,000 Scottish pounds appears to have been the whole sum allotted for the maintenance of the national church; and even that sum was paid with little exactness. It cannot but be considered as a singular circumstance, and a surprising deviation from the maxims by which the reformers of Scotland seemed to have hitherto regulated their conduct, that the Protestant ministers, whose doctrine was, by the whole nation, esteemed the true Gospel of Christ, should have thus been abandoned to poverty and distress, while the Catholic clergy, whose religion was proscribed, and its exercise prohibited, met with such extraordinary indulgence, as to be permitted to hold so great a part of the ecclesiastical revenues. To solve this curious problem it is requisite to observe, that the greatest part of the Catholic dignitaries were men of noble birth, who, as they no longer entertained any hope of restoring their religion, wished their own relations, rather than either the crown or the Protestant clergy, to be enriched with its spoils. They not only connived at the incroachments of their noble relatives, but aided their rapacity, and dealt out among them the patrimony of the Church, by granting perpetual leases of lands and tithes, and giving, to the utmost of their power, a legal sanction to the usurpations which had been made, amidst the confusion of civil war, and the prevalence of feudal anarchy. Thus it was evident, that, after the demise of the incumbents,

bents, their rich benefices would be transferred to the aristocratical families; and the nobles, who were resolved to prevent their annexation, either to the crown or to the reformed Church, were perfectly satisfied with a device which gave a legal sanction to their proceedings.*

It may not here be amiss to observe, that, in Scotland, the reformation was carried to a higher pitch, and adopted, both in theological doctrines and hierarchical regulations, a wider deviation from the ancient institutions than in any other country in which its establishment took place, except Geneva, Switzerland, and the United States of the Netherlands. The ancient Scotch, like all other semi-barbarous nations, had been extremely tinctured with superstition. In proportion to their affluence, the Scottish kings and nobles had distinguished themselves above those of most other countries, in their profuse donations to the Church. The munificent piety of David I. transferred all the crown lands into the hands of ecclesiastics. The same spirit pervaded the nobility of that age, and descended to their successors. When a revolution in the ideas of men induced them to rectify the abuses of mistaken piety, the Scottish reformers exhibited a fanaticism not inferior to that which had animated their ancestors. The impulse was essentially the same, although its direction was different, and its effects of a nature diametrically opposite. The Scots of an earlier period had a superstitious veneration for the external pomp of religion: those of the sixteenth century imbibed a fanatical aversion against every kind of religious decoration. It is, therefore, no wonder, that, like the Goths and Vandals, the ferocious

* See, on this subject, Keith, Spotswood, Knox, and Robertson.

 populace

populace endeavoured to demolish or deface all the monuments of ancient magnificence; and that their furious zeal has left posterity to lament the ruin of many stately fabrics, once the ornaments of the kingdom.* If we regret the fanaticism of the Scottish populace, we must, however, do justice to the humanity with which the preachers of the reformation had inspired their followers. Amidst all the excesses of violence committed on churches and monasteries, very few of the Roman Catholics suffered any personal injury; and not a single person of that persuasion lost his life. It appears, indeed, that these excesses, as well as the severe laws afterwards enacted against the Catholics, may derive some excuse from the provocations which the reformers had received, and the persecutions which they had undergone. In times of innovation, when the minds of men are agitated by the spirit of party, and imbittered by mutual injuries, an uniform moderation in sentiment and conduct, is difficult to be preserved.

The measures of the convention of May, 1561, however, were much less excusable. When the power of the hierarchy being overturned, and the Protestant religion firmly established, neither the same motives of policy, nor the same ungovernable rage of the populace, remained to justify or excuse this barbarous havoc, which Dr. Robertson thus describes: "The convention," says he, "considering every religious fabric as a relic of idolatry, passed sentence upon them by an act in form; and persons the most remarkable for the activity of their zeal were appointed to put it in execution. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished

* Robertson, vol. 1, p. 393.

in

in one common ruin. The storm of popular insurrection, though impetuous and irresistible, had extended only to a few counties, and soon spent its rage; but now a deliberate and universal rapine completed the devastion of every thing venerable and magnificent, which had escaped its violence."* Thus the modern world has to deplore the fanaticism of former ages.

Such was the state of Scotland, immersed in barbarism, and convulsed by Catholic and Protestant bigotry, when Mary, whose husband, Francis II, was dead, received a pressing invitation from her subjects to return to her native country, and assume the reins of government. She consented to the proposal with reluctance; and her mind seemed to forebode her future misfortunes. At her departure from Calais, so long as the coast of France continued in sight, she gazed intently upon it, sighed often, and cried, "Farewel France; farewel beloved country, which I shall never more behold!" When the darkness of the night concealed the land from her view, she caused her couch to be brought upon deck, and waited the return of day, with impatience. The galley had made little way in the night; and when the day-light appeared, France was still within sight. She continued to feed her melancholy with the prospect; and, as long as her eyes could distinguish it, she repeated the same tender expressions of regret. This circumstance, so pathetically related by Dr. Robertson on the authority of Brantome, who was in the same galley with the queen, is here given nearly in his own words. The sorrowful emotions of this young and beautiful princess, then only nineteen, must excite our sympathy. When we

* Robert. Scotland, vol. 2, p. 47.—Robert. on the Author of Spotsw. p. 174.

contemplate

contemplate her future misfortunes, we cannot but reflect on the infelicity that sometimes attends a crown, and deplore the sufferings of unfortunate royalty.

On the 19th of August, 1561, Mary landed at Leith, and was received by her subjects with every demonstration of loyalty and regard. But the acclamations that resounded in her ears, were only a prelude of misfortunes which her misconduct contributed to heighten. The indescribable difficulties of her situation, however, may plead an excuse for many of her failings. A spirit of licentiousness and insubordination pervading all ranks of men; an aristocracy accustomed to independence; religious factions, zealous, enthusiastic, and desperate; Protestants, who thought a mass more shocking than a murder; and Catholics, who considered the least contradiction to their creed as more dreadful than the approach of an hostile army, composed a tumultuous and discordant scene: a kingdom, in fine, which, during the space of two years, had been without a regency; without a supreme council; without the power, or even the form of a regular government; was a turbulent theatre of action for a young queen, scarcely nineteen years of age, who, being unacquainted with the manners and laws of her country, a stranger to her subjects, without allies, and almost without a friend, had nothing but her personal accomplishments to oppose to a combination of difficulties, sufficient to baffle the efforts of the most consummate political skill and experience. To enter into a detail of all the vicissitudes, which checquered her reign, and of the misfortunes which imbittered her life, would be incompatible with our present plan. Her unfortunate marriage with Lord Darnley; the blameableness of his conduct; the cruelty of his murder;

der; her supposed culpability in regard to the latter; the mysterious obscurity in which that iniquitous transaction was involved; her subsequent union with Bothwel, and its disastrous issue; the cabals of the nobles and ecclesiastics; the revolt of her subjects; her imprisonment and escape; her flight into England; the ungenerous treatment which she received from Elizabeth; her long captivity, and death on the scaffold, have afforded a copious subject to historians,* and an affecting scene to the tragic muse. From her early infancy, she was the sport of fortune; and, in her maturer years, the victim of policy. After a turbulent reign of about six years, being defeated and imprisoned by her revolted subjects, she was compelled to resign the crown, which was placed on the head of James VI, her son, an infant of one year old, July 29, 1567; the epoch which marks the termination of her unhappy reign.

The minority of James, was harassed by a continuation of the same anarchy that had so long prevailed; and the miseries of civil war desolated the kingdom. Friends and brothers ranged themselves under the standards of opposite factions, and political hatred dissolved the ties of blood, as well as the bonds of society. At the age of fifteen years, the young king was seized by a band of conspirators, who kept him long under confinement; from which he was, at last, liberated by the dexterous subtilty of Colonel Stewart. In regard to plots, conspiracies, civil commotions, and all other deeds of violence, the reign of James in Scotland, was the counterpart of that of his mother; but its issue was more fortunate. Having, in a great measure, tranquillized the kingdom, and seen the spi-

* Vide Robertson, Hume, and all the English and Scottish historians.

rit

rit of faction, both political and religious, begin to subside, he was, by the death of Queen Elizabeth, called to the English throne; a happy event for the island of Great Britain. From this memorable period, the history of Scotland is identified with that of England.*

In the history of Scotland, previous to this event, commerce is not a conspicuous feature; and the barrenness of the subject has afforded scarcely any opportunity of fixing on particular periods, for marking its improvement and extension. In a country producing few materials, and in which feudal warfare, and feudal oppression, prevented their elicitation by industry, trade cannot be supposed to have made any great progress. The most ancient branch of Scottish commerce, seems to have been that with France; which was undoubtedly promoted by the political connections between the two countries. Several of the monarchs of Scotland had encouraged trade, and aimed at the improvement of their country; but a slight glance at the history of their reigns will shew, that neither the circumstances nor the spirit of the times were favorable to the design. Before the year 1444, we find that the Scottish merchants had a staple at Bruges; and, in 1466, James III. granted them a licence to go to Middleburg with their goods.† It likewise appears, that they were engaged at the same time in the herring-fishery. The linen manufacture of Scotland is also of considerable antiquity. From all the documents that can be collected, however, it is evident, that so long as Scotland remained

* The union has already been mentioned in the historical view of England.

† And. Hist. Commerce, vol. 1, p. 487.

a separate

a separate kingdom, it had no claim to be ranked among commercial nations. As a proof of the scarcity of money in that country, it suffices to remark, that the rate of interest was first reduced from ten to eight per cent. so late as the year 1633. Its trade now began considerably to increase, money became more plentiful; and, in 1672, a further reduction of interest, from eight to six per cent. took place. But it was not until the union in 1707, that Scotland, obtaining the privilege of a free trade with all the British plantations, found a vent for her manufactures, which excited a general spirit of commerce and industry. At this time the money brought into the mint at Edinburgh, amounted to 411,117*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* It is also supposed, that an equal sum was held back by those who were averse to the union. If, therefore, this latter statement, which is no more than random conjecture, be admitted, the whole amount of the circulating cash at that time in Scotland, including what was then exported or retained by silversmiths for various uses, might be computed at 900,000*l.* sterling.* It has already been observed, that the feudal system, with the grievances of which it was productive, was one of the most powerful causes that paralized the exertions of industry, and prevented the increase of trade in Scotland. The efforts of several of the Scottish kings for its depression have also been remarked, in this condensed view of their history. To complete the picture, it will not be amiss concisely to exhibit the circumstances and effects of its extinction. In the year 1654, Cromwell and his Parliament enacted its total abolition; but, at the restoration, some of the politi-

* And. Hist. Commerce, vol. 3, p. 26, on the authority of Ruddiman.

cians

cians of that period, having represented to Charles II, that such a state of society afforded the easiest means of retaining the kingdom in subjection, by the distribution of a few pensions, the act was not confirmed.* But the mad rebellion of 1745, excited by the hostile intrigues of France, caused the final abolition of the feudal system in Scotland, by an act passed, 20th George II, which first placed all the people of that country on the same equitable and rational footing in regard to liberty. From this time, although not solely in consequence of that measure, but from its conjunction with a variety of concurring causes, the commerce, wealth, manufactures, and industry of Scotland, have increased to a degree almost miraculous; and which, indeed, would be absolutely incredible, were it not conspicuous. The nobles and gentry of that country, by the improvement and increased value of their estates, have not been less gainers by the abolition of vassallage than the peasantry, and are now sensible that an increase of wealth, as well as of tranquillity, without any diminution of honour or dignity, has been the beneficial consequence of that measure.

Of the general state of society in the ancient kingdom of Scotland, this concise sketch of its history will give a tolerably just idea; and the particular condition of the common people may be readily inferred. It requires no effort of the imagination to conceive the state of the lower orders under so complete a system of servitude. From the frequency of feudal contentions, agriculture was neglected, and the peasantry were not only poor, but ferocious. The same causes produced the same effects on their towns, which, from the want of trade, were extremely poor, mean, and

* And. Hist. Commerce, vol. 2, p. 428.

nauseous;

nauseous; so, that during some centuries, the dirt and stench of Edinburgh were proverbial. A modern tour into Scotland is sufficient to shew the important revolution which has taken place in society, since its happy union with England.

The fortunate consolidation of Great Britain into one powerful and well compacted monarchy, for which it appears by nature to have been formed, cannot be contemplated without emotions of pleasure, as well as of gratitude to Providence; and when we consider the incalculable blessings, which this arrangement has produced, and, indeed, had always promised, we cannot but wonder that it was not sooner effected. We have already observed, that the neglect of the Romans in not completing the conquest of the whole island, was the fatal cause of innumerable calamities to Britain, and so long as it was divided into two separate kingdoms the same cause invariably produced the same effect. The history of Great Britain affords, in this instance, a striking exhibition of the errors of politicians. The consolidation of the whole island into one monarchy, was a benefit so obvious, that it might appear astonishing to those, who view the affair with the eye of philanthropy and reason, how it could be overlooked by the Scots, at the demise of the maid of Norway, successor to Alexander III. Had the nation, at that time, cordially united with Edward's intentions, and effected a peaceable union with England, what blood would have been spared! what devastations would have been prevented! how much sooner would Scotland have flourished in commerce, in peace, and prosperity. After these reflections, what shall we say of the ill-judged patriotism of the Scottish heros of that age, whose

whose exploits and whose obstinacy have been so applauded by their historians. The bitterest enemies of their country could not have pursued a line of conduct more opposite to its interests. But things are too commonly called by wrong names; and mankind are too frequently the dupes of this sort of misrepresentation. Scottish liberty was, in that age, the privilege, which a few individuals enjoyed of oppressing the whole nation, and Scottish patriotism was the support of that mischievous power. If we minutely observe the history of the world, we shall find that the most beneficial changes in human circumstances have been produced by a casual concurrence, or more properly a Providential arrangement of causes and consequences, rather than by the projects of statesmen, or any efforts of human penetration and policy. We may conclude our historical retrospect of united Britain, with this important remark, that after having reviewed the calamitous times, which this island has experienced, the repeated devastations of its cities and provinces, and the torrents of blood by which it has been deluged, we cannot but see the lightness of our present inconveniences, and learn justly to appreciate our political happiness.

CHAP. IV.

Present State, political and moral — Religion—Constitution—Laws, Manufactures, and Commerce—Fisheries—Language, and Literature—Education—Universities—Population—Manners, Customs, and National Character.

Religion.]—THE introduction of Christianity, into Scotland, has already been mentioned, as placed by some historians about the commencement of the third, but by others, with greater probability, about the middle of the sixth century. The introduction and establishment of the reformed religion has also been noticed. The present ecclesiastical government is of the Presbyterian form. The number of parishes is 941. Contiguous parishes unite and constitute a presbytery, of which there are sixty-nine. A certain number of these compose a provincial synod. But the grand ecclesiastical court is the general assembly, in which the king presides; a commissioner being appointed to represent his majesty's person. The Scottish clergy, in general, are men of enlightened minds, as well as of exemplary lives, and have, by the moderation of their conduct, wiped off the stigma of intolerance and ferocity by which the first reformers of Scotland were distinguished. Many respectable families adhere to the episcopal forms. The other religious denominations are not numerous.

Constitution.]—Since the union, the political constitution is blended with that of England. Before that event

event the Scottish Parliament, consisting, like that of England, of peers and representatives of counties and burghs, sat in one house. The great barons were few in number, amounting, even in the reign of James VI, to no more than fifty three.*

Laws.]—The laws of Scotland differ essentially from those of England; and it would here be of little use to exhibit the numerous minutiæ of distinction. Under the feudal system, the hereditary jurisdictions were nearly absolute, and every chief exercised an almost uncontrolled authority. At present the civil and canon law constitute the basis of Scottish judicature. In regard to the army, navy, revenue, &c. Scotland admits of no distinction from England, as both form one political system.

Manufactures and Commerce.]—The principal manufactures of Scotland have been already mentioned in our view of the manufacturing towns. It suffices, therefore, in general terms, to say, that the chief are those of linen and iron. The former is very considerable, being estimated at the annual amount of 750,000*l.* The latter, especially that of Carron, is likewise to be considered as an object of national importance. As the progress of manufactures in this island is necessarily from the south to the north, owing to the prices of provisions and labour being lower in the remote provinces than nearer the capital, it is not impossible, that, unless the want of fuel should render it impracticable, in progress of time, they may find their way into the farthest corners of the highlands, and into the northern and western isles.† To

* And. Coll. vol. 1, pref. 40.

† It must, however, be allowed that the scarcity of fuel is the grand obstacle against the introduction of manufactures into the highlands. See Lord Selkirk's observations, p. 30.

encourage

encourage the habits of industry and the spirit of commercial enterprise, in those remote regions, is an object worthy of individual as well as of national attention. By the introduction of manufactures and trade, the great landed proprietors would find their revenues increased, while the British empire would receive a considerable accession of population and wealth.

The general trade of Scotland, although on a smaller scale, is in most respects similar to that of England. In 1793 the exports were computed at 1,024,742*l.* since which time they are supposed to have considerably increased. Under this head the fisheries of Scotland deserve to be mentioned. These are not confined to their own coasts; for the Scots have a considerable share in the whale fishery; and the bounty of 40*s.* per ton allowed by government for shipping employed in that trade, renders their returns very valuable. The herring fishery might be made an inexhaustible source of wealth, as well as an invaluable nursery of seamen. The numerous busses or vessels employed in this business, on the western coasts of Scotland, are fitted out from the ports in the north-western parts of England; from those of the Clyde, and the neighbouring islands; and from the north of Ireland. Campbeltown, in Argyleshire, is their grand rendezvous, where three hundred of these vessels are frequently assembled. A judicious and liberal plan for the encouragement of those fisheries, could not fail of being exceedingly conducive to the national advantage. The slighest glance on the history of Scotland, previous to the union, shews, that in regard to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, it has for ages been a neglected country; and,

 perhaps,

perhaps, ages may yet revolve before it receive all the improvement of which it is capable.

Language.]—From time immemorial two different languages, marking a different national origin, have prevailed in Scotland: that of the lowlands consisting of the ancient Scandinavian, intermixed with the Anglo-Saxon, and that of the highlands, which, as well as the Irish and British, is radically Celtic. This latter is still spoken in most parts of the highlands; but the ancient language of the lowlands is nearly extinct, as the Anglo-Saxon had, at, or even before, the Norman conquest, been introduced into that part of the country, and the modern English now generally prevails.

Literature.]—The literature of Scotland has deservedly acquired an extensive fame, and the rapidity of its progress compensates the recency of its origin. Whatever appearance of antiquity the national vanity of ancient Scottish historians may endeavour to give to their literature, as well as to their monarchy, unbiassed enquiry cannot discover any distinct traces of its celebrity until a recent period. There, indeed, appears to have once been a time, when learning, as well as piety, flourished in Iona among the venerable disciples of St. Columbus; but as none of their writings remain, we can make no just estimate of their literary talents. After barbarism had overspread this remote asylum of letters, we no more discover their re-appearance till the thirteenth century; for in the twelfth, Scotland could not boast of any native writer. In the sixteenth century, Hector Boethius contributed much to the revival of learning; and the classical purity of Buchanan's Latin style is equal to that of any modern writer. Since that time the

the progress of the Scots, in every department of literature and science, has not been less rapid than that of the other European nations. In the mathematics Lord Napier, the celebrated inventor of logarithms; Maclaurin, not less famous for his astronomical works; and Dr. Simpson, distinguished for his illustrations of ancient geometry, have established the reputation of their native country. In medicine, Pitcairn, Arbuthnot, Monro, and Cullen, hold an eminent rank; many other distinguished names also might be added; and Edinburgh is one of the first medical schools in Europe. In the various walks of literature, Blair, Beattie, Armstrong, Burns, &c. are names of eminent note. Thomson, the poetical painter of the Seasons, is the boast of Scottish poesy. Hume and Robertson have acquired universal celebrity. Their works will be read while the English language exists and letters are held in esteem.

Education.]—The mode of education pursued in Scotland, although it cannot be considered as a complete national plan, is, perhaps, the best practical system adopted in any country of Europe. Every country parish, at least with very few exceptions, is provided with a schoolmaster as uniformly as with a clergyman. The schoolmaster has a small salary, which enables him to educate the children at a rate easy and convenient to indigent parents. The great defect is, that the salaries of the masters are generally too small. They ought to be augmented, so as to raise that useful class of men above the necessity of intermingling other employments with their important office, as well as entirely to exempt the parents from payment. The brutal stupidity and sluggish neglect of the lower classes, in every country, will ever cause

education to be neglected so long as it is attended with the smallest expence.

Universities.]—The universities of Scotland are four, of which that of St. Andrew's, founded by Bishop Wardlow in 1412, is the most ancient: that of Glasgow, was founded by Bishop Turnbul in 1453; that of Aberdeen, by Bishop Elphinstone in 1500; and that of Edinburgh, in 1580, by James VI. The buildings of this last not being well adapted to the purpose, the foundation of a new edifice was laid in 1789, to which his Majesty has been a liberal benefactor. The structure will soon be completed on the magnificent plan adjusted by Adams, and promises to be a noble monument of national taste.

Population.]—From the most accurate accounts of the population of Scotland, it appears that, in 1798, it amounted to 1,526,492, exhibiting an increase of 261,112 since the year 1755.* The intelligent reader, however, cannot but observe, that some problems of difficult solution arise, from comparing the present population of the country with its ancient history. In considering the increase of this population, since the middle of the last century, with the vast improvement of manufactures and commerce, and the general tranquillity of the country since the union, when compared with the turbulence and bloodshed of former times, we cannot but suppose that the number of inhabitants was far less in the days of Robert I. and of David II. than at present. If, in the year 1755, according to our best accounts, the whole population was scarcely 1,000,000; on a comparison of circumstances, there is strong reason to presume that, in the fourteenth century, it must have fallen very short

* Statist. Account, vol. 20. p. 620.

of

of that number. And it is somewhat difficult to conceive how a country, which contained so small a number of people, should furnish so many successive armies, and so quickly recover its losses after the dreadful ravages of Edward I. as totally to defeat the forces of his successor, and to carry devastation and carnage almost into the very heart of England. It is true that, under the feudal system, the whole mass of the people formed a nation of soldiers. Armies were soon levied, and soon disbanded. The calamities endured by the Scots were great, and their efforts desperate; but yet, with every allowance that can be made, a complete elucidation of the case involves no small difficulty. Some circumstances also of a recent date, are difficult to reconcile with the modern state of Scottish population. According to the records of the army, the number of soldiers furnished by Scotland, in the war which commenced in 1755, amounted to 80,000, and of these, if we may credit a very popular work, about 60,000 were raised in the highlands and the isles, which form by far the least populous part of the country. This estimate certainly seems very consistent with the view of population exhibited in the statistical accounts.* We must, however, at the same time consider, that the poverty of those districts renders soldiers much easier to be procured, than in opulent and plentiful countries, which furnish more abundantly the means of obtaining a livelihood by labour or trade. For the same reason, Ireland and Scotland, especially the highlands, notwithstanding the comparative smallness of their population, far surpass England in furnishing emigrations to America; and perhaps, in general, send abroad a greater proportional

* Guthrie's Gram. p. 164. 19th edition.

number of their inhabitants than any other countries of Europe.

Persons, manners, and customs.]—The people of Scotland are generally lean and active; and, from their climate and manner of living, such of them as are inured to labour, or accustomed to expose themselves to the weather, can endure incredible fatigues. Among the higher classes, the same mode of living, in almost every respect, prevails as in England. The same luxuries are seen at their tables, and the same urbanity and elegance of manners are observable. The abundance and beauty of their table linen, in particular, is remarked by all strangers. The houses of the opulent are erected on the English plan; and, in regard to interior elegance and conveniency, can scarcely be surpassed. Their dress is also the same as that of the English, being regulated by the London fashions. But the gentlemen of the highlands, especially in time of war, use the peculiar dress of their country, consisting of the plaid, composed of woollen stuff, sometimes very fine, and then called a tartan, with a waistcoat of the same, and the phelibeg, or short petticoat. The plaid, or tartan, is ornamented with various colours, forming stripes crossing each other at right angles, and producing a pleasing effect on the eye. It is often above twelve yards in width, and is thrown over the shoulders in the form of the Roman toga, as represented in ancient statues. Sometimes it is fastened round the middle with a leathern belt, so that part of it hanging down behind and part before, it supplies the place of breeches. This disposition of the plaid is, in the highlands, called a phelig, but, by the lowlanders, a kilt. The phelibeg is a kind of petticoat of the same variegated stuff as the plaid, and is buckled round the

waist. Next to the shirt, the waistcoat, which is of the same composition, is worn. Their stockings are also of tartan, variegated in the same manner, and tied below the knee with tartan garters ornamented with tassels. The knife, and the dagger, commonly called a dirk, hung from the belt of the phelibeg. In the reign of James III, the broad sword was introduced by Andrea Ferrara, a Spaniard, an excellent workman, whom that prince invited into Scotland. And after the use of fire-arms was discovered, a pistol, sometimes curiously ornamented with silver, was added to the number of these formidable decorations. A large leathern purse, richly ornamented with silver, completed the dress of a highland chieftain. The ancient dress of the highland females consisted of a petticoat, and jerkin with strait sleeves, with or without trimming, according to the rank or opulence of the wearer, and a plaid of the foregoing description, which they threw over the shoulders, and fastened with a buckle. On the head they wore a kerchief of fine linen, of different forms. The plaid is but lately disused by the ladies of Scotland, who wore it in a graceful manner, falling towards the feet in large folds, resembling the flowing drapery of the ancients. The diversions used among the rich are, in general, the same as in England.

The general characteristics of the lower classes of people in Scotland, are abstemiousness in diet, and simplicity of manners. One of the principal articles of their food is parich, by some called crowdy, a kind of thick pottage composed of oatmeal and water, and eaten with milk, ale, or butter; and often, by the poor, without these ingredients. With two or three meals of this homely food every day, and a small bit of meat for

for Sunday, the labourer is generally contented. Although some of them are too fond of whiskey, it may, in general, be said, that their sobriety, as well as their regular observance of the sabbath, is exemplary; the Scottish manufacturer, or labourer, instead of wasting his weekly gains at the ale-house, being ambitious of appearing with his family in decent clothes on Sunday, or other holidays.* The habitations of the peasantry have, of late, been much improved; and the neat stone cottage, covered with tile or slate, often appears where nothing but the mud-walled hovel, meanly thatched with straw, was formerly seen. Their dress in the lowlands is not materially different from that of the same class of people in England, except that the bonnet is, for its cheapness and lightness, pretty generally retained. The highland peasantry have resumed the ancient dress of their country; which, after the rebellion of 1745, had been, for a considerable length of time, disused.

To enumerate the variety of rude diversions used among the populace of every country, would be tedious and useless. It may, however, not be amiss to observe, that among the Scotch peasantry dancing is a favourite amusement; but its perfection, according to their ideas, consists wholly in agility of movement, and in the exactness of keeping time to

* As an instance of the love which many of the highlanders have for whiskey, Mrs. Murray, in speaking of the mountain of Ben Nevis, relates the following anecdote: "A lady of fashion having conquered that ascent, left, on purpose, a bottle of whiskey on the summit; when she returned to the fort, she mentioned that circumstance before some highlandmen, as a piece of carelessness; one of whom slipped away, and mounted to the pinnacle of 4,370 feet, above the level of the fort, to gain the prize of the bottle of whiskey, and brought it away in triumph." *Guide to Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 269.

the

the tunes, while, like the same class of people in England, they pay little regard to gracefulness. The rural inhabitants of Scotland, a great part of whose employment consists in attending their flocks and herds, have a natural taste for poetry and music, and the beautiful simplicity of the Scottish tunes, is relished by all true judges of nature. Among their diversions may be reckoned their weddings, in which, a custom prevails, that is equally social and charitable, contributions being generally made on this occasion for persons of an inferior rank. The wedding is, for the most part, numerously attended. The guests are entertained with a dinner and dancing, and each pays according to his abilities and inclination. When the parties have been servants in respectable families, the contributions are sometimes so liberal, as to enable them to provide household furniture, and other articles necessary for their establishment.

The peasantry of Scotland, but especially of the highlands, like all other semi-barbarous people, have ever been remarkably superstitious; and, like the Welsh and the Irish, believe the existence of fairies. The aspect of their country, consisting of black and dismal mountains, inclosing deep valleys and glens, in a great measure secluded from the rest of the world, has a natural tendency to inspire melancholy and visionary ideas. To this circumstance Dr. Beattie and others, ascribe the second sight, so much spoken of in the highlands and the western isles. This kind of presage is described as a visionary appearance of occurrences which are shortly to happen, presenting itself to the eye of some particular person. Its nature has been investigated by several ingenious philosophers, and the whole appears to be nothing but the

effect of a particular cast of the imagination; for it has always been found, that as the mind has been enlightened and the ideas expanded, the faculty of second sight has disappeared. The hospitality of the highlanders, and their kind attention to travellers, can scarcely be surpassed; but at the same time their inquisitive curiosity is sometimes troublesome, for they make a multitude of enquiries of all strangers that come in their way, and cannot be satisfied without knowing every particular concerning their persons, their business, the place of their residence, and that of their destination, with all the particulars of their journey.* In the solitudes of the highlands, where the thinly scattered inhabitants live in a state of dull uniformity, sequestered from the rest of the world, the mind not being employed and filled, as in places of populous resort, its ideas are confined, its powers are alive to every adventitious incident, and curiosity is excited by every trifling circumstance. Among the particular customs of Scotland, may be reckoned some variations from those of England in regard to baptisms and funerals, owing to the presbyterian system of religion, which, in the former, does not admit of any sponsors, nor in the latter, of any religious rites. The corpse is attended to the grave, by great numbers of the relatives, friends, and neighbours of the deceased, walking in solemn procession, and every thing is conducted with appropriate decency; but no clergyman attends, and consequently no funeral service is performed. The highland funerals were formerly preceded by bagpipes, playing solemn dirges, and accompanied by the voices of the attendants. Amidst the general revolution of ideas and habits in-

* Murray's Scotland, vol. 1, p. 321.

troduced into Europe by the extinction of the feudal system, and the reformation of religion, perhaps few countries have experienced in these respects a greater change than Scotland. Among the higher classes this change is in most places complete; and, as in all other countries, the least advanced among the peasantry. Except in the sequestered parts of the highlands, however, the manners and habits of all classes of people are daily more assimilated to those of the English.

IRELAND.

IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

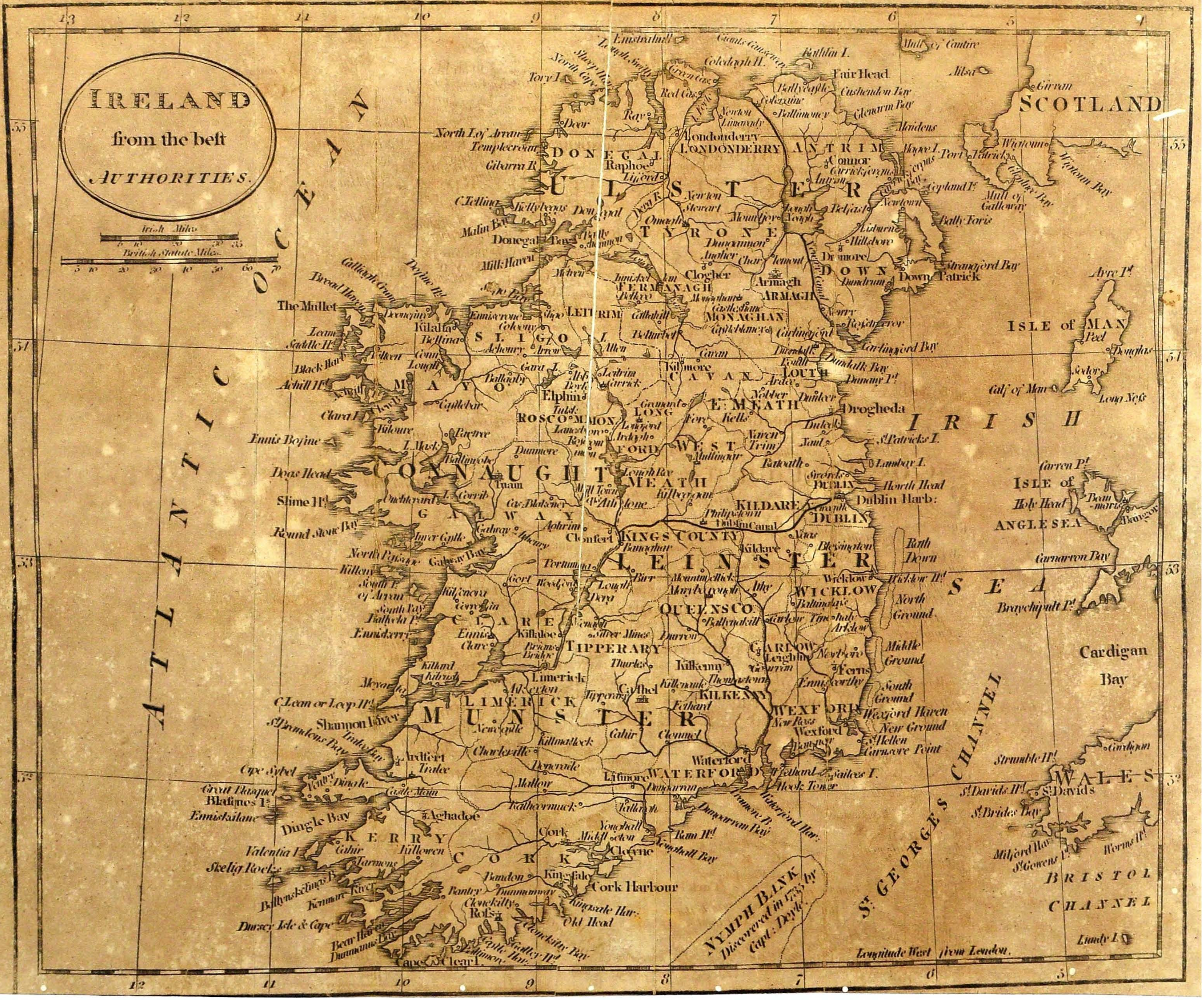
Situation—Extent—Name—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Morasses—Mineralogy—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Natural and artificial Curiosities.

IRELAND is about 300 miles in length, and 160 in its greatest breadth, extending from 51° to 55° 30′ north latitude, and from 6° to 10° west longitude. The content, in square miles, is by Beaufort computed at 30,370, and by Pinkerton at 27,457. The population being estimated at 3,000,000, affords a proportion of 114 inhabitants to a square mile. In a general comparison, the extent of Ireland, in proportion to that of England and Wales, is reckoned nearly as eighteen to thirty. Its nearest distance from Scotland, in the passage between Donaghadee and Portpatrick, is little above twenty miles; and from Wales, between the easternmost part of the county of Wexford and St. David's, about forty-five miles.

It is bounded by the Atlantic ocean on every side, except towards the east, where the narrow sea, called St. George's channel, separates it from Great Britain.

The ancient Latin, as well as the Irish and modern English names, Hibernia, Erin, and Ireland, are of uncertain

Plate IX.



IRELAND
from the best
AUTHORITIES.
Irish Miles
British Statute Miles
ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
St. GEORGES CHANNEL
BRISTOL CHANNEL
SCOTLAND
WALES
ISLE of MAN
ANGLESEA
ISLE of
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
DONEGAL
LONDONDERRY
ANTRIM
TYRONE
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
MONAGHAN
DOWN
CAVAN
LEITRIM
SLIGO
MAYO
ROSCOMMON
LONG FORD
WEST MEATH
E. MEATH
LOUTH
GALWAY
KINGS COUNTY
QUEENS CO.
KILDARE
DUBLIN
WICKLOW
CARLOW
KILKENNY
WEXFORD
CLARE
TIPPERARY
LIMERICK
WATERFORD
KERRY
CORK
Londonderry
Fair Head
Donegal
Raphoe
Newton Stewart
Clogher
Armagh
Down Patrick
Strangford Bay
Belfast
Drogheda
Dublin Harb:
Elphin
Tuam
Athlone
Limerick
Cashel
Clonmel
Waterford
Wexford
Cork
Cork Harbour
Dingle Bay
Shannon River
Cape Clear
The Mullet
Slime Hd.
Cardigan Bay
NYMPH BANK Discovered in 1735 by Capt: Doyle
Longitude West from London.

uncertain etymology. Probably they may all be derived from some Phœnician or Gáélic term, signifying the farthest western land. Cæsar describes Hibernia as being about half as large as Britain, and in this respect his information appears to have been more correct than could reasonably have been expected. The Romans, towards the latter part of their reign in Britain, discovering that the Scoti were the ruling tribe in Ireland, distinguished that country by the appellation of Scotia, which, having been afterwards transferred to Scotland, the ancient name of Hibernia was revived by the Latin writers, and this in time gave place to the modern name of Ireland.

Face of the country.]—The face of the country is very dissimilar to that of Scotland, and if sufficiently improved by agriculture, would bear a much greater resemblance to England.

Mountains.]—The mountains, if they can aspire to that name, are few and unimportant; the highest being of an elevation considerably inferior to Snowden and Plinlimmon in Wales, and to many both in England and Scotland. The height of the principal Irish mountains, is thus given by Pinkerton from different admeasurements.

	Feet.
Slieve Donard, county of Down	3150
Mangerton, county of Kerry	2500
But this height is estimated above the level, not of the sea, but of the lake of Killarney.* According to Mr. Young, its height above the level of the sea is 2505 feet.	
Croagh Patrick, county of Mayo, above the level of the sea	2666
Nephin, county of Mayo, above the sea	2640
Cumeragh, county of Waterford	2160
Knock Meledown, same county	2700

* Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1, p. 235.—Young, vol. 1, p. 458.

This

This last is given by Pinkerton on the authority of Smith's Waterford, p. 210, where may be seen the principles adopted in his mensuration. In Ireland there are no distinguished mountainous chains, but an elevated ridge runs across the country from the N. E. to the S. W. Most of the Irish hills form short lines, or detached groupes.

Rivers.]—The rivers of Ireland, if we except the Shannon, do not, any more than its mountains, form a very distinguished feature in the face of the country, most of them being of small magnitude, of a short course, and of little utility to navigation and commerce. The Shannon issues from the Lough, or lake of Allen in the county of Leitrim, and passing through two other large lakes, Lough Ree and Lough Derg, extends below Limerick into a vast æstuary, about sixty miles in length and ten in breadth, which opens into the Atlantic ocean, by a mouth of nine miles wide. Throughout its whole course it is sufficiently wide and deep for vessels of a considerable size; but its navigation is interrupted by a ridge of rocks, extending quite across its channel, about six miles above Limerick. The celebrated Earl of Strafford had once formed the design of removing this impediment, but the succeeding troubles unfortunately prevented its execution. The whole course of the Shannon, being nearly 170 miles, its unobstructed navigation would be an incalculable benefit to the country. The other rivers being of little importance, we shall omit an useless enumeration, and only observe, that the Liffy has acquired some degree of note, from the capital being situated on its banks.

Canals.]—The inland navigation of Ireland might be rendered an object of great importance, but un-

 happily

happily that system of national improvement has not here been pursued to the extent of which it is capable. Soon after the Duke of Bridgewater had set so illustrious an example in England, the intersection of the sister kingdom by a canal extending from the Liffy to the Shannon was attempted. Great errors, however, having been committed in the original plan and survey, the work was in 1770 interrupted, and after an expence of 77,000*l.* in carrying it as far as the bog of Allen, still remains imperfect.* The canal of Newry, by effecting a communication between the river Banna and Carlingford bay, completely insulates the N. E. corner of Ireland. Considerable sums have likewise been granted by the Irish Parliament for various other works of this kind, as well as for improving the navigation of the rivers Shannon, Barrow, and Lee. But the distracted state of the country, and various other causes, have hitherto impeded those beneficial designs.

Lakes.]—The lakes or loughs of Ireland form a distinguished feature in its topography. These are very numerous, especially in Ulster and Connaught. Some of them are of a considerable extent, and many of them abound in excellent fish. Lough Earn is above thirty miles in length, and twelve in its greatest breadth. It is divided into a southern and a northern part, by a narrow outlet of about four miles in length. Lough Neagh is the next in extent, being twenty-two miles long, and twelve broad, and is said to possess a petrifying quality. The lake of Corrib, in the county of Galway, is about twenty miles in length, and from two to five in breadth. But the lake of Killarney, in the county of Kerry, is cele-

* Philips, p. 330.

brated above all the other Irish loughs for its picturesque beauties and romantic views. It is entirely surrounded with mountains, rocks, and precipices, the vast declivities of which are covered with woods, decorated with evergreens, almost from their summits down to the edge of the water. Among these a number of rivulets tumbling over the precipices from heights of nearly 100 yards, form a scene exquisitely grand and beautiful.* The echos among the surrounding hills are, also, astonishingly delightful. The Earl of Glenmore, the noble proprietor of this inchanting spot, has placed some pieces of cannon for the amusement of travellers. The discharge of these echoing among the surrounding hills, is awfully tremendous, beyond all the powers of description. Among the craggy and stupendous heights surrounding this celebrated lake, is a stupendous and frightful rock, presenting towards the water a precipice of terrific grandeur, which has acquired the appellation of the Eagle's Nest, from the vast numbers of eagles that construct their nests in its awful front. The lakes of Eask, Trierty, Melvy, Macnean, and Gill, in the north-west, are of inferior note. But Lough Derg, although of no great extent, is remarkable for containing a small island, in which was St. Patrick's purgatory of superstitious celebrity, once the pious resort of Irish pilgrims.

Morasses.]—Extensive morasses, or bogs, unhappily form a distinctive feature of the country. From the neglect of agriculture and drainage, the rains of successive ages, subsiding into the lower grounds, have converted most of the plains into barren and watery swamps covered with moss, the putrid repositories of

* Young, vol. 1, 444, 445.

stagnant

stagnant waters, which taint the air with noxious exhalations. The bog of Allen contains about 300,000 acres. The Irish morasses, in one curious particular, differ from those of England, which are generally low, and uniformly level, while the former mostly rise into hills. One of these bogs, in the county of Donnegal, exhibits a complete scenery of hill and dale. Heath, bog-myrtle, and a little sedgy grass, constitute the whole of their vegetation. Most of these bogs might, by draining, be improved into good meadow ground.*

Metals and minerals.]—The mineralogy of Ireland is only a recent subject in its natural history. Its mines, however, although but lately discovered, promise to become objects of considerable importance. There are several of silver and lead; and, in some of these, thirty pounds weight of lead ore produce not less than a pound of silver. Considerable quantities of native gold have been found in the county of Wicklow to the south of Dublin. It is even said, that some pieces weighing from seventy to eighty guineas have been found; but this may, probably, be an exaggeration. These have been chiefly met with in a small brook, which falls into the river of Avonmore, and on the declivity of the hill of Croughan Kinshelly, about six miles south-west from the copper-mines of Cronbane, and seven, nearly west, from Arklow.* The principal mines of silver are those of Wicklow and Antrim. Another, which is less productive, exists near Sligo in Connaught, and a third about twelve miles from Limerick. Copper has recently been found in the counties of Wicklow and Kerry. But one of the

* This process is already begun, and seems to be an advantageous speculation.—Carr's Stranger in Ireland, p. 313--316.

† Philosoph. Transact. 1797.

principal mineral productions of Ireland is iron, the mines of which were little known until towards the end of the sixteenth century. The iron ore of this country is of three sorts: the first is found in the boggy parts, and resembles a yellow clay; the second, called the rock ore, is intimately combined with stone. The iron produced from these two kinds of ore, especially the latter, is of an inferior quality. But the spheric ore, of a whitish grey colour, which is found in some of the mountains, and from the balls of the best kind being full of small holes, is named honey-comb ore, yields an iron by some esteemed equal to that of Spain.*

The beds of coal, which exist in various regions of Ireland, have not been sufficiently explored. That of Castlecomer, in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, is deservedly celebrated for its purity, as it scarcely emits any smoke. Near Kilkenny is also found the finest marble in Ireland, although various kinds have been discovered in different parts of the country. As this island contains abundance of iron, there are many chalybeate springs; but whether it be owing to nature or accident, it has never been famous for mineral waters.

Soil.]—The soil of Ireland, although the substratum is almost an entire rock, exceeds that of England in natural fertility, and only requires the hand of industry to render its superiority every where visible. But agriculture has hitherto laboured under many disadvantages. Tillage is little understood, and the turnip and clover husbandry is almost wholly unknown. The soil is so stony that Mr. Young considers the whole island as an immense rock, composed of different

* On this subject, see Dr. Gerard Boate's Natural Hist. of Ireland.

kinds of strata with a slight covering of clay, loam, or sand, all intermixed with a great proportion of stone; a circumstance which might appear unfavourable to fertility. But this traveller observes that the clays of England could not be cultivated if they were drenched with such deluges of rain as fall on the calcareous rocks of Ireland, and regards it as a wise and bounteous dispensation of Providence, that the most rocky soil in Europe is allotted to the moistest climate, and rendered productive by this happy coincidence.*

Climate.]—The climate of Ireland differs little from that of England, except in its greater degree of humidity, as the geographical position of both these countries is nearly parallel. The Rev. William Hamilton remarks, that in Ireland a considerable change in the climate and seasons has taken place, even within the memory of the present generation; the winters being milder, and the summers less warm and genial than formerly. For this circumstance he attempts to account from the increased prevalence of the westerly winds; from the progress which the sands have made on various parts of the coast, as well as the augmented swell of the tides. Mr. Hamilton supposes, that, in consequence of the eradication of forests on the old and the new continents, the western winds have acquired an increased power, naturally tending to produce a humid and ungenial climate in countries bordering on the Atlantic.* The superabundance of moisture is certainly one of the greatest physical inconveniencies of Ireland. The westerly winds, so fa-

* Mr. Carr observes, that the turnip husbandry was scarcely known in Ireland until the year 1800, when the agricultural society was established. Carr's Tour in Ireland, p. 504.

† Memoir in Trans. Roy. I. Acad. vol. 6.

 vorable

vorable to many other countries, and especially to England, are extremely prejudicial to the sister island, by bringing thither the accumulated vapours of an immense ocean, which descend in such continual rains as sometimes threaten the total destruction of all the fruits of the earth. But the keen frosts, the deep snows, and violent thunder storms, so frequently experienced in England, are almost wholly unknown in Ireland, where the winter is warmer and the summer cooler; or, to speak with greater precision, where there is less difference between summer and winter than, perhaps, in any other country situated without the tropics.

Vegetable productions.]—The vegetable productions of Ireland, at least, those which may be esteemed of importance as articles of food or materials of commerce, differ little from those of England. It has been supposed by some, that, with proper management, this island might be rendered the granary of the British empire; but an English farmer will not be easily persuaded that so rainy a climate can be auspicious to corn, or promise favorable harvests, without which abundant crops are of little value. The superabundant humidity has, indeed, been frequently urged as an argument for the propriety of preferring the grazing system, which, although highly injurious to the population of the country, will be the principal object of rural pursuit, unless cultivation can be rendered equally beneficial. The soil and agriculture of Ireland, however, are topics which have been ably illustrated by an intelligent observer and writer, to whom a general reference may be had on a variety of particulars relative to this subject.* We shall only

* Mr. Young's Tour in Ireland.

observe

observe from the same author, that limestone gravel is a manure peculiar to Ireland, and found beneficial on every soil in that country. In a view of Irish vegetation, the scarcity of wood cannot be overlooked. Although not so destitute of that necessary and valuable article as the Hebudes, the Orkneys, Shetland, and some parts of Scotland, yet, when compared with the general scenery of English landscape, the nudity of the sister island immediately strikes the eye of the traveller. Woods of considerable extent formerly existed in the counties of Kerry, Cork, Tipperary, Donegal, Tyrone, Fermanagh and Antrim, but especially in Ulster, Connaught, Mayo, and Sligo. Some are yet seen in Leinster, Wexford, and Carlow; but scarcely the semblance of a forest any where remains. Extensive bogs have now usurped the place of the ancient forests, to which, in conjunction with the excessive humidity of the climate, they seem to owe their origin, in consequence of the heavy rains stagnating on the ground, and with the constant accession of falling leaves and rotting grass, &c. forming a vegetable earth supersaturated with moisture, to which, the trees, loosened at the roots and decayed at last, fell a prey. This observation may help to account for the formation of bogs in many other countries; and the masses of timber, often found buried in those swamps, where no trees could at present be reared, strongly corroborate the argument. The ornaments of gold and other relics of antiquity, found in many of the bogs of Ireland, are proofs of their recent formation; and, in proportion to their increase, the forests have been diminished. Other causes have also contributed to their extirpation. The extension of tillage since the

* Young's Tour in Ireland, vol. 2, p. 171.

entrance of the English, the necessity of opening the recesses of the banditti, and the great consumption of wood for fuel in the iron manufactures in consequence of the coal mines not being explored, have concurred to produce this effect. The advanced state of cultivation in Ireland will, also, as well as in all other countries, continually tend to cause a greater scarcity of wood; and the climate seems, at present, ungenial to its culture. Many kinds of trees are found not to prosper; and, in some parts of the island, even the ash seems to be verging towards annihilation; a circumstance ascribed, by the Rev. William Hamilton, to the increased violence of the westerly winds.* The same cause, if the fact be admitted, may have a similar influence on the western highlands and the Scottish isles, where the climate appears, from many indications, to have been formerly less ungenial to the growth of timber, than experience shews it to be in the present age.†

Zoology.]—The zoology of Ireland does not present many distinctions from that of England and Scotland. The viper, the only poisonous reptile of England, not being met with in Ireland, the common assertion, that no venomous animals exist in that island, appears to be founded in fact. It has even been believed that no spiders will infest Irish timber, which, for that reason was, during some centuries, in great esteem for cielings and other architectural uses. The Irish horses of the native breed are small, but remarkakle for the gentleness of their pace. The numbers of cattle and hogs produced in Ireland, may be guessed by the vast

* Memoir Trans. R. I. A. vol. 6, before referred to.

† Vide, on this subject, Descrip. of those countries under their proper heads.

exportation

exportation of salted beef and pork; although, if the common people of Ireland lived as plentifully as those of England, a much less quantity could be spared from home consumption. Sheep are pretty numerous. The Irish hound, or wolf dog, has been celebrated for his size and his vigour, being one of the noblest animals of the canine race, much larger than the English mastiff, shaped like a greyhound, and gentle as a spaniel.* Rabbits are said to be more plentiful than in England. Numerous herds of deer have been mentioned by ancient authors; but the progress of agriculture has now rendered that animal rare. If, however, the zoology of Ireland cannot at present boast of any striking characteristics, it exhibits some relics of ancient distinction worthy to be classed in the first rank of natural curiosities. In various parts of the island are dug up horns of deer of an enormous size, some having been found which extend fourteen feet from tip to tip, furnished with huge antlers, and weighing not less than 300*lbs.* The whole skeleton is frequently found. Some have imagined that the animals, to which these horns belonged, were of the species of the American moose, which is sometimes about seventeen hands high. It has, however, been demonstrated, that the enormous Irish deer in question must have been nearly twelve feet high; and therefore almost twice as large as those of America.

Natural curiosities.]—Besides the zoological curiosity just mentioned, Ireland contains some stupendous works of nature, which have attracted the attention of every traveller, and excited the astonishment of every spectator. Among these the giants' causeway is of distingushed celebrity. It consists of a vast collec-

* The race of Irish wolf dogs is nearly extinct.—Carr's Tour, p. 312.

tion

tion of basaltic columns, closely compacted together, although of all the variety of angular forms from three to seven sides, among which the pentagonal is the most numerous. The pillars, which are several thousands in number, are from one to two feet in diameter, and seldom composed of one entire piece, but generally consisting of about forty stones, which easily separate, although fitted together with the greatest exactness. The joints by which they are united are, some of them, plain, others have a concave socket, exactly adjusted to a corresponding convexity. These pillars are mostly in a vertical position. Their height is unequal, varying from sixteen to thirty-six feet above the level of the strand. In some places they are, for a considerable space, of so uniform a height, as to form at the top an even pavement. This causeway projects from a precipitous coast into the sea to an unknown extent. The part which has been explored is about 200 yards long, its breadth varying from forty to eight yards. This wonderful work of nature is situated about eight miles from Coleraine in the county of Antrim. A considerable part of the adjacent coast, particularly the Capes of Bengore and Fairhead, are not inferior objects of curiosity. These precipitous promontories, which are eight miles distant from each other, composed of different strata of black and red stone, disposed in the most curious and regular manner, intermixed with magnificent colonnades of basalt exhibit a grand and singular appearance. All these are objects only of recent observation; and it is wonderful that they should have escaped the attention of ancient writers. The first account that we have of the giant's causeway, is that given by Sir R. Buckley in 1693. But that celebrated traveller

traveller and antiquary, Dr. Pocock, Bishop of Ossory, examined this remarkable object with great accuracy, and Mr. Hamilton has investigated the whole northern coast of Antrim. These subjects, indeed, have so often employed the descriptive powers of authors, as to admit of no farther illustration. We shall therefore only observe, that, although the origin of the basaltic substance, which, on decomposition appears to be a mixture of silicious and argillaceous earth, with about one-fourth part of iron, has become a matter of serious dispute among naturalists; the cause of its production has operated in a very extensive range. Its existence may be traced along a coast of fifty miles in length. Some imperfect appearances may also be discovered in the vicinity of Lough Neagh, and among the mountains of Derry: even the isle of Staffa, at the distance of 100 miles, seems to form part of a basaltic chain of unknown extent. Dargle, twelve miles south from Dublin, an enchanting glen, near a mile in length, finely wooded with oak, with lofty precipices and a picturesque river, is, by Mr. Young, reckoned among the curiosities of Ireland. Under this head we might also place a variety of romantic prospects, cataracts, and caverns; of which last, that of Michel's town, at the foot of the Galtec mountains, is by the same tourist considered as the most curious and beautiful.

Artificial curiosities and antiquities.]—The antiquities of Ireland, although investigated by Grose with laudable accuracy, do not offer any thing very important or striking. It would, indeed, be absurd to search for venerable ruins, magnificent remains of ancient architecture, or other monuments of art, in a country where, till the eleventh or twelfth century, all the edifices were of wood. Although the early conversion of Ireland

land to Christianity was followed by the erection of a great number of churches and monasteries, yet all these were constructed of interwoven laths, or, at the best, of hewn timber. If, during the Danish period, some edifices of stone were erected, they were few in number and of simple construction, being chiefly places of defence, such as the situation of the conquerors, in a country but partially subdued, might render necessary. Some Danish intrenchments may be seen; Sir James Ware, and other antiquaries, think that some religious structures were erected of stone; but this opinion seems founded rather on conjecture than certainty.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Remarkable Edifices.

DUBLIN, the metropolis of Ireland, is agreeably situated in a valley, between ranges of hills on the north and the south, near the bottom of its spacious bay, which is seven miles wide, and, in stormy weather, extremely dangerous. The city is divided almost into two equal parts by the river Liffy, which runs through it; and being banked on both sides, presents a number of commodious quays, where vessels load and unload close to the warehouses. This river, however, although navigable for small vessels, as far as the custom-house in the centre of the city, is of a trifling width in comparison with the Thames at London. It is crossed by six bridges, two of which are of recent construction, on the model of Westminster-bridge; but the others cannot boast of much elegance. Dublin, in its appearance, bears a near resemblance to London; the houses are built of brick, and the new streets are not inferior in elegance to those of the British metropolis; but many of the old streets are narrow and disagreeable, and the houses mean. Great improvements, however, have lately been made, and Dublin is now opulent, commercial, and elegant. The environs are delightful; and in approaching it from the sea, although on entering the bay the city itself, by reason of its low and level situation, has not a very striking appearance, the swelling hills on each side, with

with the distant mountains of Wicklow, form a grand and pleasing perspective. The barracks, delightfully situated on an eminence near the banks of the Liffy, are said to be the largest and most complete building of the kind in Europe, being capable of containing 3,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Stephen's-green, is a very spacious square, environed with a gravel walk of near a mile in extent. Many of the surrounding houses are singly elegant; but, when collectively viewed, display a want of uniformity. This square is the grand resort of genteel company in the evenings and the Sunday afternoons. Near this another extensive square is laid out, and several of the houses already built. They are lofty, and constructed of stone as far as the first floor. The appearance of the whole, when completed, will be uniform, and have an air of superior magnificence. The Parliament-house, which was ten years in building, from 1729, to 1739, and completed at an expence of 40,000*l.* was justly ranked among the first specimens of architectural beauty. It was chiefly of the Ionic order, and the portico was almost without a parallel. On the 21st of February, 1792, this superb structure was nearly destroyed by a fire, which broke out about five in the afternoon, when the two houses were sitting. But it has since been rebuilt in its former style of elegance. The construction of a stone wall, of about the breadth of a moderate street, and of proportionate height, and extending three miles in length, in order to confine the channel of the bay, and shelter shipping in stormy weather, is one of the greatest and most laudable undertakings of the present age.

If Dublin be, as it is generally supposed, the Eblana

lana of Ptolemy, it is a place of great antiquity.* No further mention of it, however, is found in any authentic records until the year 964, when it appears to have been in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons; for Sir James Ware, in his Annals, quotes a character of king Edgar bearing date this year, in which the present metropolis of Ireland is designated by the title of "Noblissima Civitas Dublinæ."† It was afterwards in the hands of the Danes; and, according to the best accounts that can be met with relative to those dark ages, was, about A.D. 1076 the capital of Ireland. The Hebudæ, as well as the Isle of Man, were also at that time subject to the King of Dublin.‡ About A.D. 1172, Henry II. transplanted a colony thither from Bristol, and celebrated the Christmas festival in Dublin, attended by the petty kings or chiefs, together with the bishops of Ireland. From that time, as Camden observes, this city has gradually advanced in wealth and prosperity. Its progress, however, must for a long time have been slow, if the census of its inhabitants in the year 1644, exhibited in the Gesta Hibernorum, and amounting only to 8159, inclnded the whole population. But, as Mr. Anderson judiciously observes, this can only be considered as the number of adults; and, therefore, by allowing, according to the general mode of computation, two children for each, the whole census may be stated at 24,477, which is scarcely more than one-sixth part of its present inhabitants.§ In 1733, the population of Dublin was computed at 129,420.‖ This, however,

* Ptolemæi Geog. lib. 8. cap. c. Baxteri Gloss. Antiquit. Britannicarum, p. 100.

† "The most noble city of Dublin." ‡ Sir J. Ware, Hist. ch. 22.

§ And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 401. ‖ And Hist. vol. 3. p. 199.

seems

seems to be an exaggerated calculation, as the bills of mortallity for the year 1742, exhibit no more than 2320 burials, which, being computed at the rate of one to thirty-three, would exhibit a population of only 76,560; but in a city where the professors of the established religion constitute a small majority of the inhabitants, little certainty can be ascribed to those registers.* The next year, 1743, the burials were 2193, which, by the same rule of computation, will give 72,369 for the number of inhabitants.† Mr. Anderson, however, in another place, under the year 1760, tells us, on the authority of a correspondent, that, all the bills of mortality met with in Dublin had fallen short of 2000, which, on the same principle would make the whole population at that epoch amount to less than 66,000.* It would be highly interesting to contemplate the progressive advancement of those cities, which are celebrated in history, or distinguished for their commerce and wealth; but, unfortunately we are always bewildered amidst a variety of contradictory accounts, which baffle the most accurate investieation. It suffices, therefore, to conclude this article by observing, that the most accredited of our modern geographers and statistic writers, estimate the present population of Dublin at about 150,000*l*. The length and breadth of the city being each about two miles and a quarter, its circumference may be reckoned about ten miles. It contains two theatres, eighteen parish churches and eight chapels, seven presbyterian, two methodist, and two quaker meeting houses, sixteen Roman Catholic chapels, three churches for French, and one for Dutch

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3. p 235. † Ibid. p. 241.

‡ Ibid. p. 317.

protestants

protestants. Many seats of the nobility and gentry decorate the environs.

Cork.]—Next to Dublin, in population, commerce, and opulence, is Cork, a city of great importance situated on the river Lee, on the south side of the island, distant about seven miles from the sea. The haven is one of the most safe and capacious that Europe can boast; and although small vessels only can come up to the city, Cork is the greatest port in Ireland. This being the great mart of Irish provisions, is much frequented by shipping from Great Britain bound to the West India islands,* and also by those of most foreign nations. Not less than 300,000 head of cattle are supposed to be annually killed and salted here, between the months of August and January. The principal exports are beef, hides, tallow, and butter. It contains about 8500 houses; and Mr. Young speaks of its population in terms of astonishment.† The number of its inhabitants is supposed to exceed 70,000, or even 80,000.‡

Limerick.]—Limerick, situated on the æstuary of the Shannon, and uniting a position almost central to the south of Ireland, with the advantage of an excellent harbour, is next to Cork in importance. It is a well built, populous, and commercial city, and was formerly a place of great strength. Its principal exports are salted provisions. The number of houses is computed at 5257 and that of its inhabitants at about 50,000. The epoch of its foundation is unknown; but the episcopal see is said to have been established in the year 652. From the ninth to the eleventh cen-

* Atlas maritim. et commercialis, p. 25.

† Young's Tour, vol. 1. p. 417.

‡ Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. 9. article Cork.

tury, Limerick was possessed by the Danes. In the great rebellion, in the reign of Charles I. it was seized by the Irish, who held it till the 27th October 1651, when they were obliged to surrender it to Lieutenant-general Ireton, after the defeat of the last army that they could bring to its relief.* In the war which followed the revolution, it was besieged by William III. in person, who found himself obliged to raise the siege on the 30th August, 1690. But it was at length reduced by General Ginkle, to whom it surrendered in October, 1691, by a civil and military capitulation. In all the wars by which Ireland has been so often afflicted, the possession of Limerick has always been considered as a point of great importance.†

Waterford.]—Waterford has, in respect of magnitude and commerce, the next claim to attention. It is situated on the river Suir, and has a considerable trade. The principal exports, like those of Cork and Limerick, consist of beef, pork, &c. The foundation of Waterford is, although not with absolute certainty, yet with a great appearance of probability, ascribed to the Danes. This place has suffered very much by the late disorders; and 30,000 is the greatest number that can be stated for its present population.

Kinsale.]—Kinsale is remarkable for its singular situation under Compass-hill. The principal street extends near an English mile, running as it were round the bottom of the hill, and communicating with others above by steep lanes.‡ The upper parts of the town command a very fine prospect. The harbour is

* Clarendon, Affairs of Ireland.

† Dr. Keating's Hist. Ireland, p. 544.

Campbell's Polit. Surv. vol. 1. p. 240.

commodious,

commodious, secure, and spacious; but its commerce is eclipsed by that of Cork. Kinsale, however, is distinguished as a maritime arsenal, and is supposed to contain about 8000 inhabitants.

The ports of Dungarvon and Youghall are, as well as Kinsale, lost in the superior commerce of Cork. Youghall, however, may claim some degree of celebrity in the annals of agriculture, being the first place in the British islands, where that excellent root the potato was planted. The introduction of this useful vegetable is generally ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, which is the more probable, as this was a part of his estate. "It seems, however," says Mr. Campbell, "that no proper instructions had been given to the person who cultivated it, since upon its coming up and growing pretty high, he attempted to eat the apple, which he took to be the fruit of the plant. But finding it unpleasant, he considered his pains as lost, and utterly neglected it. At some distance of time, when they came to turn up the earth, they found the roots spread to a great distance, and increased into great quantities; and from hence the whole kingdom was gradually furnished."*

Galway.]—Galway is a town of some commercial note, and carries on a considerable trade to the West Indies. The population is about 12,000.

Londonderry.]—Londonderry, though little distinguished by its present importance, has acquired military fame by its vigorous resistance in 1649,† against the

* Campbell's Polit. Survey, vol. 1. p. 246, where see the references to different authors, some of whom consider potatoes as originally natives of Mexico, others of Peru.

* Heath's Hist of Civil Wars, p. 239.—Clarendon's Hist. View, Affairs of Ireland, p. 118.

 collective

collective force of the Irish rebels, and still more by the memorable siege which it sustained against the army of King James, under the pressure of the severest famine.†

Belfast.]—Belfast, which may be regarded as the centre of the linen manufacture, is, through their influence, a flourishing town. The principal exports are to the West Indies, and the commercial intercourse between this place and Glasgow is very considerable. To this, indeed, its situation in the north-east part of the island is extremely favourable. The principal manufactures of Belfast are those of cotton, cambrick, linen, and sail-cloth, with glass, sugar, and earthen-ware. The population is computed at 18,000.

Drogheda.]—Drogheda imports coal and various kinds of goods from England, and exports considerable quantities of grain. It is situated on the Boyne, which, although navigable only for small craft, contributes greatly to its prosperity. Being taken by assault on the 10th of September, 1649, by Oliver Cromwell, it experienced the severity of a sanguinary conqueror. Not only the garrison, but also the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were put to the sword, and the town for a considerable time laid almost in ruins.† At length, however, it gradually recovered, and is now a thriving place. It is supposed to contain about 10,000 inhabitants.

Kilkenny.]—Kilkenny is a strong and very handsome town, with a population of 18,000. Armagh, Cashel, Tuam, and other chief towns of the interior, are venerable for their ecclesiastical antiquity, rather than distinguished for their modern importance.

* For the account of this siege, vide Dr. Walker's Hist. 4to.

† Clarendon's Hist. Affairs of Ireland, p. 131.

Edifices.

Edifices.]—The specimens of architecture met with in Ireland are not, in general, to be placed on an equality with those that are seen in some other countries; where, during a great length of time, commerce and wealth have resided, and the arts and sciences flourished. Few of the cathedrals aspire to any great degree of architectural elegance. That of St. Patrick, at Dublin, is a venerable rather than a magnificent structure. Some of the other churches in that city are elegant modern buildings. The Castle, Essex bridge, the Custom house, and several other public edifices in Dublin, especially the Parliament house already mentioned, are constructed in a very superior style of architecture. In regard to private buildings, the Irish nobility and gentry now begin to vie with those of England, in the magnificence of their structure and the elegance of their decorations. The houses of the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, and some others at Dublin, with several in various parts of the country, exhibit marks of genuine taste. These elegant pieces of architecture are, indeed, of a modern date; and, since the year 1760, the cities, towns, and country seats in Ireland, have been almost entirely renewed.* The great scene of general improvement was rapidly advancing when the late unfortunate disturbances commenced; and although it then received some interruption, the spirit which produced it is not extinguished. Happier times will effect its resuscitation; and it is to be hoped, that the misguided proselytes of erroneous opinions in Ireland will see, that their true interest consists in embellishing their country by the arts of industry and peace, instead of desolating it by acts of rapine and violence.

* Young's Tour, vol. 2. p. 349.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—Progress of Society, &c.

IRISH history is not a very copious theme. A country insulated by nature, and during a long succession of ages in a state of barbarism, unnoticed and almost unknown, cannot be expected to exhibit a series of splendid annals, commemorative of great and important events. Some parts of the ancient history of Ireland would afford a view of men and manners, of sacred and secular antiquity, which would be interesting, if the gloom which obscures it could be removed. As this, however, is impossible, we must content ourselves with slightly glancing at some prominent features, without wasting time in wandering through the shades of legend, or deluding our fancy by adopting the extravagances of fiction in the place of historical truth.

With respeet to the original population of Ireland, no authentic documents exist; but, in all probability, the first settlers were from Gaul, perhaps through the medium of England, from whence fresh colonies were received when the Belgæ invaded Britain. Some antiquaries suppose, that about the same period in which the Belgæ, from the Netherlands, took possession of the maritime provinces in the south of England, other tribes, of the same Gothic origin, undertaking more remote expeditions passed over to the south

south of Ireland, and that these are the Firbolgs of Irish tradition, who extended their conquests to the eastern and northern coasts of the island, until at last they became known to the Romans of Britain, from whom they received the denomination of Scoti.

The introduction and zealous adoption of Christianity among the Irish, in the fifth, or the commencement of the sixth century, is the most important event which their ancient history records. The particulars which relate to this interesting subject are considerably disguised by legend; and it is not known who were the first preachers of the gospel in that island. St. Patrick, who, as some affirm, was a native of Scotland, but according to others a Briton of Wales, found, at his landing in this country, Christian missionaries, who were probably British monks; and the vicinity of the country affords a strong presumption in favour of this opinion. These missionaries had already made many proselytes, but the superior success of St. Patrick, who appears to have been a man of distinguished talents and piety, procured him the honourable appellation of the apostle of Ireland, and his disciples were, according to the testimony of historians, so eminent in the practice and propagation of religion, that in the succeeding ages the island was denominated "Sanctorum Patria."* We are also told that the Irish monks so greatly excelled in literary pursuits, as to send into all parts of Europe whole flocks of learned men, who were the founders of several abbeys in Burgundy, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Britain; and according to the venerable Bede, many of the Anglo-Saxon nobles, about the middle of the seventh century, retired into the

* "The country of saints." Camb.

monasteries of Ireland, which, at that time, had acquired a distinguished reputation.* It is farther said, that those pious emigrants were maintained, taught, and furnished with books by the Irish, without requiring any fee or reward. This relation, if true, bears, as Lord Lyttleton observes, an honourable testimony not only to the learning, but also to the bounty and hospitality of that nation. And, as Leland remarks, such a conflux of foreigners, to a retired island, at a time when Europe was immersed in ignorance and involved in sanguinary confusion, gave a peculiar lustre to this ancient and celebrated seat of learning. If these relations, of different writers, can be relied on, it must be confessed that they give a considerable sanction to the apparently improbable assertions of the Irish writers, who say, that at Armagh alone, 7000 students were employed in the pursuits of literature. They had also, at the same time, many other seminaries, in which letters and science were cultivated with great success; but the invasion of the Danes, or Easterlings, about the latter end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century, destroyed the tranquillity of Ireland, and extinguished her literary glory.

No rational inquirer, however, can suffer these historical testimonies of the pre-eminent state of Irish learning, at this early period, to pass without comment. It appears evident, that its effects were somewhat singular. That the cultivation of letters was confined to monasteries, while the people were immersed in ignorance, is not surprising. This was a circumstance not peculiar to Ireland; but for many ages after the period in question, common to all

* Bede, lib. 3, cap. 7 and 27.

Europe,

Europe, being the necessary effect of a concurrence of causes, which will, in other parts of our work, be noticed. But it must appear somewhat astonishing that a nation so attached to letters, should, during the space of nearly two centuries, have remained in a state of such absolute barbarism, in regard to architecture, as to construct their houses and palaces only of interwoven twigs; and still more wonderful that bishops and monks, so animated with zeal for religion, and supported by princes and chieftains so addicted to devotion, should have built their churches and monasteries of no better materials. When Henry II. received at Dublin the homage of the kings or chiefs of Connaught, Cork, Meath, Vriel, Ossory, and Limerick, the palace erected for his residence was built of smooth rods. Sir James Ware, likewise, says, that with the sole exception of some few abbeys, they never erected any buildings of brick or stone before the English conquest. Those religious houses, however, which this author admits as an exception to the general mode of wicker building, must have been exceedingly rare; for, although we are told that soon after the introduction of Christianity a great number of churches and more than 1000 monasteries were erected, St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, mentions a church built of stone as a singular novelty in Ireland. If such, indeed, had existed previous to the Danish invasion, they could not have been so completely annihilated, but some of their ruins at least must have remained. Admitting, therefore, the authenticity of what is related, concerning the early and rapid progress of the Irish, in the cultivation of letters, we cannot but perceive, that their history exhibits a circumstance which has no example in that of any other

other nation. In every other country, the improvement of intellect has displayed itself in the elegances, or at least in the conveniences and comforts of life. Some degree of proficiency in architecture, adapted to existing circumstances, and to views of utility or embellishment, has ever been one of the first and most visible marks of civilization; and every religious and ingenious people, has considered the substantial and elegant construction of places of divine worship, as one of the primary objects of attention. But the history of the ancient Irish, as transmitted to us, exhibits the singular phœnomenon of a people in a high state of intellectual culture and famed for piety, who never provided for themselves better habitations than those of the Esquimaux, or the Laplanders, and who employed the same mean materials in constructing the cottages of their peasants, the palaces of their princes, and the temples of the Deity. The unbiassed judgment of modern times must consider this as a kind of historical paradox, and acknowledge that the pompous accounts of the ancient learning of Ireland, which have been echoed from writer to writer, and from age to age, are rendered questionable by a mass of contradictory evidence, arising from well known and generally acknowledged circumstances. Positively to impeach the veracity of authors, without undeniable proofs of their falsehood, might justly be censured as presumptuous; but strong circumstantial evidence may sufficiently authorise us to call it in question. Historians often compose their works from slight and superficial information, carry inferences too far and make hasty conclusions. In regard to the subject in question, their authenticity may undoubtedly be relied on, in part, as exaggeration is seldom adopted, without

something

something that may give it an apparent sanction. It is scarcely to be doubted, that the literary pre-eminence of the Irish, in the seventh and eighth centuries, was generally acknowledged. It, indeed, appears, that in those dark ages some eminent luminaries might arise among the Irish monks, disciples or successors of St. Patrick, a phœnomenon not uncommon in the times of literary darkness; and that these travelling from Ireland into various parts of Europe, as their historians say was actually the case, might diffuse light into different countries, and thus give rise to those dazzing representations of the general literature of the Irish nation.

The end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century, is the epoch generally assigned to the entrance of the Danes into Ireland. We have no authentic accounts of their wars with the natives, of their progress in the country, or of the extent of their conquests. Historians, however, agree, that they subdued a considerable part of the island, and built Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and other maritime towns, which they possessed until the English conquest, in the reign of Henry II. This period of Irish history is no less obscure than the former. Indeed, it is not to be expected that the ravages of those barbarians should have been favourable to the transmission of historical light: it seems more probable that the monuments of Irish learning perished during these times of turbulence and confusion.

As far as can be learned, from the obscure and mutilated records of those dark ages, Ireland had, from time immemorial, been divided into a number of petty kingdoms. This division, as it no doubt had facilitated the attempts of the Danes, contributed greatly

greatly to the easy introduction of the English, and, indeed, presented the first favourable opportunity for their enterprise. The kingdoms of Ireland, which were originally numerous, and consequently very small, had been gradually reduced to seven, Leinster, Cork, Ulster, Connaught, Ossory, Meath, and Limerick. One of these petty sovereigns generally kept the others in a sort of dependence, in the same manner as was practised by the Anglo-Saxon kings, during the time of the Heptarchy, and as is generally the case in countries thus divided into a number of small states. About the middle of the twelfth century, Connaught had acquired this political ascendency, and Roderic, king of that country, contemporary with Henry II, of England, is, by the ancient annalists, entitled king of Ireland. Among the other sovereigns then reigning in Ireland, Dermot, king of Leinster, was one of the most powerful, but by his arbitrary government he was grown exceedingly unpopular among his subjects. Regardless of their complaints, and supposing himself to be above all control, he completed his misconduct, and precipitated his misfortunes, by debauching and carrying off the wife of O'Roric, king of Meath. The latter, in order to revenge the affront, levied an army, and with the assistance of Roderic, king of Connaugh, entered the dominions of Dermot, who being abandoned by his subjects and apprehensive of falling into the hands of his enemies, took refuge in England, and passing over to Normandy solicited the assistance of Henry II. promising to hold his kingdom as a fief of the crown of England, in case of his restoration. Although Henry's affairs did not permit him to undertake the expedition in person, nor to burden himself with the expence

expence which it might occasion, he was unwilling to lose so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions. He, therefore, granted his royal licence to all Englishmen, who would voluntarily engage in the enterprise; and to sanction the measure he solicited and readily obtained a papal bull, authorising him to reduce Ireland to his subjection, and to the obedience of the church, as that country, in which Christianity had so long been established, had not yet acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Rome. To this bull, however, the condition, that Peterpence, or the tribute of one penny for every house in Ireland, should be regularly paid to his holiness, was judiciously annexed.* Both the pope and the king had, therefore, the most sagacious motives for encouraging the enterprise. The exiled king of Leinster then returned into England, and by the promise of his daughter in marriage, with the succession to his crown, on his demise, engaged Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, to espouse his quarrel. Robert Fitzstephen, being also allured by the hopes of great acquisitions in Ireland, undertook to accompany him, and these prevailed on many of their friends to join in the enterprise. Dermot then returned into Ireland, accompanied by Fitzstephen and his party, which consisted of four hundred, or according to Giraldus Cambrensis of 400 men, and landing near Waterford laid seige to Wexford.† This place being soon reduced, was, by the king of Leinster, given to Fitzstephen. The adventurers being afterwards reinforced by Maurice Pendergast, with some soldiers and archers, marched against the king of Ossory, who

* Rapin, vol. 1, reign of Henry II.

† Girald. Cambrens. p. 761.

being

being unprepared for the attack, was obliged to submit to such conditions as the enemy thought fit to impose. In the mean while, the other princes of the island being convened by Roderic, king of Connaught, it was resolved that the war should be made a common cause, and that all should unite to expel the English. But before any effectual measures were taken for that purpose, the Earl of Pembroke landing with 1200 men took Waterford, where he put all the inhabitants to the sword; and having married Dermot's daughter, took possession of the kingdom of Leinster, devolved on him by the death of that prince. The adventurers, pushing forward their conquest, made themselves masters of Dublin, and several other places. All Ireland was panic struck with the terror which their arms inspired, the whole kingdom was thrown into confusion, and Roderic, with the confederate princes, made a very feeble opposition to their progress. Henry, however, growing jealous of their extraordinary success, and apprehensive that they would conquer the whole country, without his assistance, hit on an expedient to secure their dependence. He prohibited the exportation of arms and provisions from England to Ireland, and commanded all his subjects immediately to return. The adventurers perceiving themselves unable to maintain their standing against the Irish on one hand, and Henry on the other, sent deputies to assure him of their obedience, and invite him to come and take possession of their conquests. This proposal perfectly corresponding with Henry's intentions, he entered into an agreement with the conquerors, that all the maritime towns should be put into his hands, and that they should keep possession of their inland conquests. Henry then passed

over into Ireland, where he received the homage of all the petty kings of the island, and thus, without hazard or expence, made an acquisition of singular importance to England, and without which the British empire would be incomplete. The conquest of Ireland by the English resembles, in this respect, those of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards; like these it was effected by private adventurers, at their own expence and risque, without any disbursement from the royal treasury. In reviewing the accounts of this expedition, we cannot but observe the unwarlike state of the Irish at that period. Although they had so long been harrassed by the Danes, or Easterlings, and so frequently agitated by intestine commotions, excited by the jarring interests and turbulent passions of their petty princes, they seem to have been totally ignorant of the art of war, and unacquainted with military discipline. The whole force of the nation could not withstand a handful of adventurers, whose number does not appear to have ever much exceeded 2000. Our accounts may, in this respect, indeed, be inaccurate; but it is evident, that the forces of the invaders were, in regard to numbers, apparently inadequate to the undertaking.

This easy subjugation of so numerous a people, by so small a band of assailants, is by some ascribed to the superiority derived by the English from their cross-bows, a weapon with which the Irish were wholly unacquainted. But the superiority of the former, in this respect, over the latter, was certainly not so decided as that which the swords and fire-arms of the Europeans gave them over the almost unarmed natives of America. It is certain, however, that the people of Ireland made a less vigorous defence against the

the English, than the Mexicans made against the Spanish invaders. After these reflexions on the inferiority of the Irish in military discipline and tactical skill, when compared with the English and other European nations of that period, it is unnecessary to repeat what has already been said concerning the meanness of their buildings, and other marks of barbarism. A variety of circumstances afford incontestible evidence that, in the twelfth century, the Irish were very little advanced in civilization, whatever lustre they might, in more early ages, have received from the extraordinary abilities of some of their primitive monks.

If Ireland was easily conquered, it was not, however, so easily held in subjection. The kings of England had been too much engaged in the affairs of the continent, to pay proper attention to those of that island, over which they exercised a kind of precarious authority; and were the real sovereigns only of the maritime towns that were held by their garrisons. In the year 1393 the Irish, after repeated insurrections, began to shew dispositions for a general revolt. In the splendid and vigorous reign of Edward III. they were held in such awe by the military reputation of the monarch, that he drew from the country an annual revenue of 30,000*l.* Since that time, however, the affairs of the English in Ireland had fallen into so unprosperous a state, that, instead of receiving any revenue, the crown was at the yearly expence of 30,000 marks, in maintaining a nominal authority. Numbers of the colonists, finding their situation unsafe, left the country, and returned into England. Those who remained being utterly unable to resist the depredations of the natives, Richard II.

issued a proclamation by which all the English who belonged to Ireland were commanded, under the penalty of death, immediately to return to that country; and, in order to prevent the entire loss of the island, he conducted thither in person a powerful army.* Other affairs, however, requiring his presence in England, he committed the management of the war to the Earl of March. This commander was shortly after slain in a battle against the natives, who had taken up arms throughout the whole kingdom, and, by their successes, threatened the total extirpation of the English. It seems that the Irish, by their acquaintance during two centuries with the English, had imbibed a more warlike spirit, and perhaps acquired greater military skill, than they displayed in the time of Henry II. The revolt was now so general, and began to assume so formidable an appearance, that Richard, assembling a numerous army, again passed over into Ireland, and gained considerable advantages; but while he flattered himself with the hope of reducing the whole island to subjection, that conspiracy was formed against him in England, by which he lost his crown and his life. In consequence of this revolution, the conquest of Ireland was left incomplete.

England, however, continued to enjoy a kind of precarious and unprofitable sovereignty over Ireland; which, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was near being totally lost by the Earl of Tyr Owen, or, as he is commonly called, Tyrone. The unfortunate Earl of Essex being, in 1599, sent with an army of 20,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry † to crush this desperate revolt, effected nothing; and terminated the expedi-

* Walsingham, p. 350. † Cambden, p. 614.

 tion

tion by a truce with the rebel chief. This ill-conducted measure was the first cause of the disgrace of that nobleman, and immediately on his departure Tyrone violated the truce, rendered himself master of the whole province of Ulster, and having received a body of troops from Spain, who possessed themselves of Kinsale, became, by this new accession of strength, so formidable as to threaten the total expulsion of the English. The Lord Deputy Mounjoy, who succeeded Essex, gave the first check to this formidable revolt by a decisive action, in which the Irish rebels, with their Spanish auxiliaries, were totally defeated; and Tyrone, being taken prisoner, was brought to England. In order, however, to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland, this notorious offender was pardoned, and favourably received at court by James I. But his restless disposition incited him to raise a new rebellion, and to form, in concert with the Earl of Tyrconnel, a project for seizing the castle of Dublin. This plot being discovered, the conspirators fled beyond sea for safety; and, after some ineffectual struggle, the remains of their party were crushed. The different attainders of the Irish rebels put the crown in possession of above 500,000 acres of forfeited lands, a circumstance which, although it gave rise to a number of English colonies, had a fatal effect in the succeeding reign. No plan could, indeed, have been better formed for the advancement of industry and civilization in that country, than the introduction of English inhabitants; but the rancour which fostered in the breasts of those whose interests were ruined by its operation, deriving, from the ensuing consest between the crown and the parliament in the reign of King Charles, an opportunity of exerting its

its malevolence, produced one of the most horrible scenes recorded in history. The multitude of attainders, however just or necessary they might be, excited the Irish leaders to adopt the most sanguinary measures in order to repossess the confiscated estates, and it was easy to convert a barbarous and bigotted people into instruments for carrying them into execution. The detestable conspiracy formed for involving all the protestants in Ireland in one general massacre, is too generally known to be passed over in silence: happy would it be that transactions so disgraceful to human nature could be buried in eternal oblivion.

This conspiracy being deeply laid, was carried into extensive although not complete execution, A.D. 1641. The number of protestants who, in different parts of the country, were the victims of national hatred and revenge, has by historians been variously computed, and, as usual in similar cases, much exaggerated; but it appears, from the most unprejudiced writers, to have been about 40,000.* The sanguinary project being fortunately discovered by the English government of Dublin, that city was saved from its dreadful effects. This formidable rebellion was entirely crushed by the vigorous exertions of Cromwell, who retaliated on the Irish the cruelties which they had inflicted on others. The siege of Drogheda, already mentioned, exhibits a shocking proof that inhumanity and bigotry are not the characteristics of one particular nation, or of one particular religion. The puritans of England, in the indiscriminate massacre of the guilty and the innocent, shewed themselves to be not less fanatical and sanguinary, than the Catholics of Ireland.

* Hume, Hist. England, vol. 6. Sir J. Ware, in his Gest. Hib. makes the number 150,000. By others it is diminished to 12,000, or even to 10,000. Such are the contradictory accounts of historians.

M 2 The

The Irish had so severely suffered by the arms of Cromwell, that they continued quiet during the whole reign of Charles II. James, his brother and successor, made choice of Ireland as the theatre on which, after the revolution, the contest for the crown of England was to be decided. After a scene of various success, the ultimate decision took place at the battle of the Boyne. The two rival princes, James II. and his son-in-law William III. both commanded in person. William had the superiority in numbers, his army consisting of about 36,000, while his antagonist had no more than 33,000, and many of these no better than an undisciplined rabble. James, however, had the advantage of situation; but this could not counterbalance the want of military discipline. It has generally been said, that he left the field in a manner which was scarcely consistent with the bravery which he had formerly shewn on various occasions; but, perhaps, his conviction of the inutility of attempting to rally his undisciplined troops, might in this respect determine his conduct. Had he, however, been victorious, he might probably have re-ascended the throne; and unless his distresses and dangers had operated a reform in his conduct, there was reason to apprehend that, being irritated by opposition, victorious over his enemies, and considering himself above all controul, he would have carried forward his arbitrary designs with renovated vigour.

Between the time of the subjugation of Ireland by Cromwell, and the important epoch of the revolution, an extraordinay change had taken place in the state of that country. At the former period, and for some time after, cattle were so scarce, that many got fortunes by carrying theirs thither from England; but before

before the latter event took place, Ireland furnished vast exports of beef, hides, tallow, &c. to foreign countries, as well as to our American colonies, and in time poured such quantities of live stock into England, that the interests of landed property rendered an absolute prohibition necessary. This singular change was effected through the industry and attention of the colonies of English soldiers, settled there by the commonwealth after its conquest of the country.* The immense forfeitures which arose from the repeated rebellions, would soon, if strictly enforced, have been sufficient to people the island with British inhabitants. But it would have been impolitic to have driven the Irish to despair, and left them no resource but revolt or emigration. It was also deemed prudent to preserve a due balance between the catholic and protestant interests. And the friends of the revolution were sufficiently gratified without proceeding to extremities against its opponents.

It would, in this place, be to no purpose to enter into tedious narratives of the trifling misunderstandings, which at different times have taken place between Ireland and England, chiefly in regard to commercial questions and restrictions imposed by the latter on the trade of the sister island. These have been detailed, with prolixity, in a variety of political treatises. Some of the outlines, however, of those transactions which have so greatly attracted the public attention, may be brought forward to view, and the causes of recent events be concisely developed. It is well recollected, that when a great part of the king's troops were withdrawn from the island, in order to be employed in the American war, a considerable

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 507, on the authority of Sir Jos. Child.

number of the Irish gentlemen, yeomen, farmers, and traders armed themselves, and formed volunteer associations for the defence of the island against foreign invasion. By degrees, these companies became numerous and formidable; and, beginning to feel their own strength and importance, resolved to attempt, by constitutional means, the removal of many restrictions on their trade. Their remonstrances met with attention, both from their own and the English parliament. Both the Irish houses presented addresses to his Majesty, in which they represented the necessity and propriety of granting to Ireland a free commerce. The members of the opposition party, in the British parliament, represented, in the strongest terms, the necessity of attending to the complaints and granting the requests of the people of Ireland, and corroborated their argument by exhibiting a view of the great strength of the volunteer associations, which, according to the generally accredited accounts, amounted at least to 80,000 men, well armed, and daily improving in discipline, self-appointed, and independent. The result of the business was, that the restrictions the injudicious and the most detrimental to the Irish trade were removed; and the affair amicably settled to the mutual benefit of both kingdoms. These concessions, on the part of Great Britain, were received with great joy in Ireland, and liberal indulgences were also accorded to the Roman Catholics by the parliament of that kingdom. All Catholic freeholders acquired the liberty of voting for representatives. But although, by the concession of the elective franchise, the establishment of the legality of intermarriage with protestants, their admission to the benefits of education and to the

profession

profession of the law, and the removal of all other restraints on their industry, the Catholics were, in a great measure, restored to the civil rights, their leaders did not appear satisfied with what had been granted. In the beginning of the year 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, transmitted to the minister his opinion of the necessity of concession as the means of preserving tranquillity. A committee was appointed to prepare a petition to parliament for the removal of all remaining disqualifications, to which the Catholics were yet subject. And Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for their further relief. The whole measure was, however, defeated, and Lord Fitzwilliam suddenly recalled. No governor of a province in any empire, ancient or modern, was ever more honoured during his stay, or more regretted at his departure. The day on which his lordship left Dublin, was observed in that city as a day of general mourning: the shops were all shut; no business was transacted. In College Green, a number of gentlemen dressed in black took the horses from his Excellency's carriage, and drew it to the place of embarkation. It would, in fine, be difficult to enumerate all the marks of affection which the citizens of Dublin bestowed on that illustrious nobleman, whose name will long hold a place in the memory of a numerous people.

A new system was now adopted; and all ideas of concession being considered as incompatible with existing circumstances, the factious and disaffected took advantage of the popular discontents to forward their own pernicious designs. In the beginning of the year 1791, was instituted that society which soon became so notorious under the title of united Irish-

 men.

men. This association is said to have owed its origin to the famous Theobald Wolfe Tone, whose life has since paid the forfeit of his treasonable intrigues. Its ostensible objects were parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation; and probably a very great number of members and adherents never carried their views any farther, nor suspected the existence of any other design. The projectors of treason, and demagogues of rebellion, seldom develope the whole of their intentions to their deluded adherents, the blind instruments of mischievous machinations. Whatever might at first have been the views of the united Irishmen, it evidently appeared, that afterward, they were not confined to parliamentary reform, catholic emancipation, or, indeed, to any kind of constitutional relief; and that, even so early as the y ar 1795, a plan was actually formed, of which the grand object was a total separation of Ireland from Great Britain, and its erection into a republic, under the protection of France. At that period, a regular communication was opened through the medium of Mr. T. W. Tone, and other refugees, between the Irish association and the Directory of France. In the course of the next summer, Lord Edward Fitzgerald went to Switzerland, and had an interview with General Hoche, in which the whole plan of invasion is believed to have been adjusted. Every one is acquainted with the attempt made for its execution by the expedition to Bantry Bay. The armament, consisting of fifty sail of ships, with about 25,000 troops on board, was far from being contemptible; and had it not been dispersed by storms, and a landing thus happily prevented, the consequences of so formidable a force acting in concert with the rebels, at that critical juncture, when their forces

forces were unbroken, and their spirits animated with hope, might have been extremely disastrous to Ireland, and have rendered that country for a long time the theatre of war.

Providence had, without any human means graciously ordained the failure of this expedition; but the members of the Irish union, far from being discouraged, endeavoured more firmly to cement their alliance, and to establish a more regular correspondence with France. Dr. Mac Nevin transmitted to the Directory a memorial, stating that 150,000 united Irishmen were already enrolled and organized in the province of Ulster. New arrangements were formed for an invasion to be attempted from Brest and the Texel; but the memorable victory of Admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet rendered this plan abortive. Various negotiations still continued to be carried on with so much secrecy and art, as to elude, for some time, the vigilance of the government in Ireland, which obtained only vague and perplexed accounts of those proceedings. But information having been received of a seditious meeting appointed to be held, on a certain day, at Belfast, an officer, with a detachment of soldiers, was dispatched to the place. Two committees were found actually sitting; and their papers being seized, the real views of the society were discovered. Among these were the printed declaration and constitution of the united Irishmen; a variety of reports from county committees, and other important documents, which left administration no longer in doubt of the extent of this formidable association, and of the views of its principal members. New discoveries of a similar nature being made about the same time, threw additional light on the proceedings of the

association,

association. And the most active and vigorous measures were adopted by government, in order to prevent the impending evil. Considerable additions were made to the military force of the kingdom; a bill prohibiting seditious assemblies was passed; the *habeas corpus* act was suspended; strict searches were made, and great quantities of concealed arms were discovered and seized. In a little time government made a still more complete discovery by the means of a Mr. Reynolds, a confidential member of the association; who, in February 1798, disclosed the whole plan and extent of the conspiracy. A meeting of delegates being convened at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, fourteen of them were apprehended, together with their secretary, M'Can. Counsellor Emmet, Dr. M'Nevin, and other leading members, were likewise seized. Lord Edward Fitzgerald being discovered in his place of concealment, made a desperate defence against the police officers; two of the principal of whom, Mr. Justice Swan and Captain Ryan, he dangerously wounded. He himself was also wounded so severely, that in a few days after he expired. The seizure of the delegates gave a fatal blow to the conspiracy; and the confusion into which the rebels were thrown by the discovery of their designs, determined them to make a desperate effort. In the military committee a general insurrection was resolved; and the 23d of March was fixed on for that purpose. Multitudes rose, at the time appointed, in various parts of the country; and, on the 25th, a body of about 15,000 rebels appeared in the neighbourhood of Wexford, where they attacked and cut in pieces a party of militia, of whom Colonel Foote and two privates only escaped. On the 28th they carried the town of Enniscorthy by assault, and,

on

on the 30th, made themselves masters of Wexford, where they liberated Mr. Bagnel Harvey, to whom they gave the command of their body. They next attacked New Ross, but were repulsed with great loss. After making some other unsuccessful attempts, they gained a considerable advantage over the royal force under Colonel Walpole, who, attacking one of their strong posts, was unfortunately killed in the beginning of the action, and his corps retreated to Arklow. The rebels soon after advanced to that place; but General Needham had so judiciously chosen his situation, that notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, they were defeated with considerable slaughter.

But Vinegar-hill was the place where, if this unhappy contest was not finally terminated, its issue, at least, was completely decided. On the 21st of June, 1798, General Lake made his grand attack on this strong position, in which the principal force of the rebels was concentrated. For this purpose he had gradually collected troops from every part of the country, until they were almost surrounded. They maintained their ground with great obstinacy for nearly two hours, and then fled with precipitation, leaving behind them thirteen small pieces of cannon, and a great number of killed and wounded. The royal forces then advanced to Wexford, which was immediately evacuated by the rebels. Bagnel Harvey, who had left them soon after the battle of New Ross, being discovered in a cave and seized, was tried by a court-martial, and executed on Wexford-bridge. Nine days before the action of Vinegar-hill, another strong body of the rebels was, after an obstinate engagement, defeated with great loss near Ballynahinche. Munro, their commander, being taken prisoner, was afterwards executed.

Earl Camden, who succeeded Lord Fitz-William, had governed Ireland with great prudence during these commotions. By the timely precaution of trebling the guards of the castle, and all the principal objects of attack; and, in fact, converting the whole city into a garrison, the wisdom of the administration had preserved Dublin from the calamity of civil war; and the rebels had never dared to make an attack on the capital. The English government, however, although in no respect dissatisfied with the conduct of Earl Camden, judged it expedient, at this crisis, to place over Ireland a military lord-lieutenant; and the Marquis Cornwallis was judiciously chosen to fill that important office. His excellency, on his arrival at Dublin, published his majesty's most gracious pardon to all offenders, who, before a certain day, should return to their duty. Such conditions, however, were proposed, and such exceptions made, as were deemed essential to the general safety. A special commission was opened in Dublin for the trial of the principal conspirators. Mr. Oliver Bond was convicted and condemned; but, as the rebellion was totally crushed, and no further danger existed, he received a pardon, and the government desisted from the prosecution of the other delinquents, on condition that they should fully disclose all the plans and proceedings of the society, and retire to some foreign country not at war with Great Britain. In this pardon Arthur O'Connor and Dr. M'Nevin were included. Thus government became possessed of the most authentic intelligence respecting the nature and object of those treasonable projects, which had so long been conducted with secrecy, and enveloped in mysterious obscurity.

Fortunately

Fortunately for Great Britain, France neglected to support the Irish insurgents till the opportunity was lost. Their whole concentrated force was broken and dispersed at Vinegar-hill on the 21st of June; and, it was not till the 22d of August, that about 1,000 French troops, a force very inadequate to the end proposed, disembarked in the bay of Killala, with a quantity of arms and ammunition. It was now too late to rekindle the flames of rebellion. The most active leaders were already in prison. Government was in possession of certain intelligence relative to all their plans, their proceedings, and expectations; and their dispersed troops had, for the most part, accepted their pardon, and delivered up their arms. The number, therefore, that joined the invaders, was inconsiderable. The French General, Humbert, immediately advanced to Castlebar, and attacked General Lake, who, no having had time to collect his forces, was obliged to retreat with the loss of six pieces of cannon and some men. The French then proceeded towards Tuam, but the Marquis Cornwallis coming up with them, they began to retreat; and the next morning, after a slight resistance, surrendered at discretion. It must, however, be acknowledged, that General Humbert shewed himself an officer of ability, and worthy of a more distinguished command than that of this forlorn enterprize. After this extinction of their last hopes, the few straggling bands of the rebels, that were dispersed among the bogs and the mountains, successively laid down their arms, and tranquillity was at length happily restored. Thus ended an iniquitous conspiracy, excited by revolutionary principles, which, without the possibility of procuring any benefit to the country, interrupted

interrupted its manufactures and commerce, and deluged its plains with blood; and which, had it proved successful, must have been a lasting source of calamity.

Had the designs of the leaders of the conspiracy been crowned with success, nothing could have more decidedly militated against the happiness of Ireland. Nothing, indeed, could be more absurd than the object of the Irish patriots; nothing more hostile to the true interests of their country. The separation of Ireland from the British empire would have rendered her wholly dependent on France. In every subsequent contest between that power and Great Britain, Ireland would have been drawn into the quarrel, made a passive tool in the hand of France, and converted into a military station for her armies; while the British fleets would, at any time, have been able to block up her ports and annihilate her commerce. The geographical position of Ireland, separated from England only by a narrow sea, and the inferiority of her extent, population, and wealth, are circumstances which, at the first glance, shew, that a close connection with Great-Britain is the only means that can ensure her prosperity.

The British government, sensible of the expediency of drawing still closer the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, has judged a complete union of the two kingdoms the most effectual means of preventing a repetition of these calamities, under which the latter has so severely suffered. How far it will prove a remedy for those evils time must discover. Every friend to the interests of the British empire, however, must sincerely wish that its effects may answer the most

most sanguine expectations; that religious freedom, with an union of political and commercial interests, may extinguish religious and national prejudices, and combine the whole monarchy in one harmonious system, the seat of peace and prosperity.

CHAP. IV.

Present state, political and moral—Religion—Government—Army and Navy—Revenues—Manufactures and Commerce—Arts and Sciences—Language and Literature—Education—Universities—Population—Manners, Customs, and national Character.

THE religion of Ireland, as established by law, is that of the Church of England; but, according to general computation, more than two-thirds of the people are Catholics; and of the remaining third part, one half is supposed to consist of dissenters of various denominations. The members of the establishment cannot, therefore, according to this calculation, be considered as very numerous.

The ecclesiastical system of Ireland comprises four archiepiscopal and eighteen episcopal sees; which may be thus arranged:—

Archbishopricks.	*Bishopricks.*
Armagh.	Meath, Kilmore and Ardagh, Dromore, Clogher, Raphoe, Down and Conner, Derry.
Dublin. . .	Kildare, Ferns and Langlin, Ossory.
Cashel.	Waterford and Lismore, Limerick, Killaloe, Cork and Ross, Cloyne.
Tuam. . .	Elphin, Cloyne, Killala, and Achonry.

The revenues of these sees are from 2,000*l.* to 4,000*l.* except Derry, which is said to be worth about 7,000*l.* Those of the primacy are computed at about 8,000*l.* per annum. The Catholics have a similar hierarchy;

 but

but their metropolitans and suffragan bishops are merely titular.

Government.]—The government of Ireland, previous to the union, was constructed on the model of that of Great Britain; being composed of a house of peers, and another of commons, his majesty's person being represented by the lord-lieutenant. But acts of importance were not considered as valid till they had received the sanction of the king in council. At present the two formerly separate kingdoms being united, their government composes one identical system.

Army.]—Ireland has always furnished a large proportion of men to the British armies, and has recently equipped a numerous militia and yeomanry. Her contributions of men to the navy, are also considerable; but Ireland has never had any separate naval establishment; and neither her army nor navy can be considered as distinct from those of Great Britain.

Revenue.]—The revenues of Ireland have been computed at about 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

Manufactures and commerce.]—In a country so neglected as Ireland had been for many centuries, we cannot expect that either trade or manufactures should have long flourished. It had, indeed, some manufactures of woollen as early as the days of Edward III, and also of linen about the middle of the fifteenth century, when it had some trade in hides, salmon, herrings, wool, linen cloth, &c. But its manufactures may, in general, be considered as of a recent date.* The Irish had begun to make a considerable progress in that of wool about the year 1699, when the British legislature judged it expedient to discourage it by high duties in order to direct their

* And. Hist. Com. p. 365—471.

industry to the linen trade, and enrich Ireland without any detriment to the woollen manufacture of England. Since that period the linen manufacture has become a source of wealth to the country; and its annual produce is computed at about 2,000,000*l*. sterling. A very considerable portion of the commerce of Ireland arises from the abundance of cattle, the moisture of the climate being so exceedingly favorable to pasturage. In 1780 Mr. Young calculated the imports of Ireland at 1,240,677*l*. and the exports at about 3,500,000*l*. Dr. Beaufort says, that, on an average of seven years, ending 1791, the value of the exports amounted to 4,357,000*l*.* It seems, according to these calculations, that the balance of trade is exceedingly in favour of Ireland; and that, consequently, her wealth is rapidly increasing, notwithstanding the sums which the Irish gentry spend out of the country. This, indeed, cannot be doubted, if any credit be given to the representation of Mr. Wood, who, in the year 1723, stated the whole current cash of Ireland at not more than 400,000*l*.†

Arts and sciences.]—The same arts and sciences, which flourish in England and other European countries, have also their votaries in Ireland. The name of Kirwan stands high in the department of mineralogy; and the natives of Ireland have distinguished themselves in various other walks of science.

Language and literature.]—Ireland being the last retreat of the Celts, its ancient language is probably one of the purest dialects of the Celtic, which is also, with some variation, spoken by the Welsh and the highlanders. It is, however, considerably intermixed with words imported by the Belgæ and the Scandina-

* Dr. Beaufort's Mem. p. 145. † And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 137.

 vians.

vians. It has been frequently remarked that the use of the Irish language occasions among the common people, many of whom speak both that and the English, a particular tone in speaking, which diffuses itself among the vulgar in general; and even among some of the better sort. This modulation of the voice, however, is not disagreeable, and even varies less than many of our own provincial dialects from the true English pronunciation. The English, however, daily gains ground, being spoken with considerable purity by many among the superior classes; and, in all probability, the Irish will, at no very distant period, become a dead language. Our late tourist, Mr. Carr, supposes, on the authority of Sir Laurence Parsons and Colonel Valencey, that the origin of the Irish language and nation may be traced to the Carthagenians.* But this is an antiquarian problem, that will scarcely ever be solved.

In our view of the ancient history of this country, we have already brought forward to examination, that venerable claim which the literature of Ireland has to antiquity, and which, although, probably, exaggerated, is something more than imaginary. The superior learning of her primitive monks cannot be controverted; and our immortal Spenser bears witness to the original genius, discoverable in the compositions of the Irish bards, several of which he had caused to be translated: "Surely," says he, "they savoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornament of poetry: yet they were sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness unto them." The Anglo-Saxons derived no small part of their first illu-

* Carr's Tour in Ireland, p. 331, &c.

mination from Ireland; and, in Scotland, literature was, until the thirteenth century, entirely confined to the Irish clergy.

In modern times the natives of Ireland have also distinguished themselves in the republic of letters. The illustrious Archbishop Usher stands in the first rank of literati, and has been followed by a train of eminent successors. It would be a laborious task to enumerate all the Irish names that do honour to literature. In Goldsmith, Burke, and Sheridan, learning and genius are eminently joined; and Europe acknowledges their superior talents. The late much lamented Earl of Charlemont was one of those eminent personages who unite elevation and rank with literary fame.

Education.]—In no part of the British dominions has education been more neglected than in Ireland. The benefits arising from the Protestant working schools, have been mentioned by a variety of writers, and their accounts have been echoed from one to another without examination. That these institutions have had a good effect, cannot, indeed, be controverted; but it must at the same time be acknowledged, that their number is far too small, and the plan in every respect too contracted. To answer the beneficial purpose of instructing the great mass of the people, of enlightening their minds and improving their morals, a complete system of parochial education, on a liberal and impartial plan, without any regard to religious differences and prejudices, or any preference to sects and denominations, would be necessary in every country, but more especially in Ireland, where the poverty of the lower class of the peasantry totally excludes them from the benefit of

instruction.* This would be the most effectual means of extinguishing party spirit, and civilizing the great bulk of the populace.

Universities.]—Notwithstanding the number of episcopal sees which Ireland contains, its only university is that of Dublin, denominated Trinity college. This institution was first projected by archbishop Leech, but death having interrupted his laudable design, it was revived and carried into execution by Bicknor his successor, and flourished for near half a century. It afterwards fell to decay, but was refounded in the reign of Elizabeth, by voluntary contributions, under the auspices of the lord deputy Sidney. The number of students in this university is generally about four hundred. It has an excellent library, a great part of the books being collected by archbishop Usher, who was one of the members of this institution, and whose name is one of its principal ornaments; but it has also produced many others, whose genius and learning have rendered them illustrious in the republic of letters. At Dublin is a society for the improvement of agriculture, instituted in 1731 by the patriotic Dr. Samuel Madden. This is one of the earliest institutions of the kind in Europe.

Population.]—The population of Ireland, like that of other countries, has been variously estimated. By some it is stated at 3,000,000, and by others swelled to 4,000,000.† The latter is thought to be an exaggerated computation. It is grounded, however, on the number of inhabitants to each house, according to the calculations of Dr. Tisdal, Dr. Hamilton, and others who have examined the subject. In the

* See Carr's judicious reflections. Tour, 511, &c.

† Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 217.

year 1786, the number of inhabited houses as laid before the commons, from the returns of the collectors of hearth money, amounted to 474,234, and allowing for intentional or unavoidable omissions, as well as for the probable increase since that period, can scarcely be at present less than 500,000. This number, which does not appear too high an estimate, will, in reckoning eight persons to each house, make the inhabitants amount to 4,000,000. But Mr. Young found the average number to be only six or six one half, which will give only 3,000,000, or little more, for the whole population of the island.

Manners and Customs.]—The manners of the ancient and modern Irish have often been described, but seldom, perhaps, with impartiality. Some of the English historians have considered the ancient Irish as the most detestable of the human race, while their own antiquaries exalt them to an illustrious preeminence above other European nations, trace their origin to the remotest periods, launch out into the most extravagant encomiums of the gallant exploits of their great ancestors, and animated with patriotic enthusiasm, can scarcely discover the least imperfection in any thing relating to their country. In examining, however, the mutilated fragments of their history, without regard to legend and fiction, we find them in their most brilliant periods, advanced to only an imperfect state of civilization. Spenser, the poet, has preserved some curious particulars of their manners in the reign of Elizabeth. These, however, relate chiefly to their prædatory troops in a time of insurrection; and among such a class of men, at so turbulent a period, no great elegance of manners, nor purity of morals, can reasonably be expected. He also

also describes another class of people going about to gentlemen's houses as common gamblers, living wholly by cards and dice, as also a set of loose fellows passing up and down under the name of jesters, whom he calls notorious villains, and associates of thieves and robbers, as well as guilty of many treasonable practices. He delineates also in the most disgusting colours, the dissolute lives of the Irish chieftains, and the extravagant encomiums bestowed by their bards or rithmers on the most abandoned profligates. The whole picture which he gives of the manners of Ireland, at that time, is far from being pleasing; but it must be remembered that a few centuries earlier, a state of society, nearly similar, prevailed in most countries of Europe.

The character of the modern Irish, has also been exhibited to great disadvantage by many English writers. But the judicious observer will readily perceive, that they are neither much better, nor much worse than their neighbours, or at least, that such shades of difference as may really exist, are rather circumstantial than characteristic.

In taking a view of the manners and customs of Ireland, its inhabitants must be considered as two distinct classes, forming two grand divisions of a numerous people. The manners of the superior orders nearly approach to the English standard, and they live in the same style of elegance, although, it is said by some, that excess in wine is more fashionable than in England. The Irish gentry are less addicted to literary and scientific amusements, than to hunting and other robust exercises, but they are remarkable for their hospitality. The nobility and gentry of Ireland, are in general the descendants of the English

families

families of distinction, who settled in the country at the time of its conquest in the reign of Henry II, or at various subsequent periods. The generality of the principal traders and manufacturers, are the posterity of English and Scotch colonies. These chiefly inhabit the northern and eastern coasts, where the greatest part of the trade is carried on, and the country is there the best cultivated and the most flourishing. The people of Ireland may, therefore, in regard to their origin, as well as their manners, be considered as three distinct nations. The first is composed of the descendants of the English, who inhabit Dublin, Waterford, and Cork, and who first introduced the arts, sciences and commerce, into the island. The second consists of the offspring of the Scottish emigrants, established in the northern districts, especially Belfast, Londonderry, and other parts of the province of Ulster. These places are the principal seats of the linen manufacture, and next to the neighbourhood of Dublin, constitute the most flourishing part of the island. The third division is the posterity of the ancient Irish, poor, ignorant, and depressed, who barely exist in the interior and western provinces. The two last classes are almost equally attached to their ancient customs, so that Ireland presents a threefold picture of national manners, marked with strong lines of distinction, which it will, perhaps, require some ages to obliterate.

The descendants of the original Irish, together with their ancient language, retain many features of their primitive manners, with the superstitious belief of fairies, &c. Among their singular customs, may be remarked that of placing a dead corpse before the door, laid out upon a table, with a plate on its breast

to

to receive the alms of passengers, a practice which prevails even in the vicinity of Dublin. A funeral is commonly attended by all the people in the neighbourhood, and is accompanied with hideous howlings, and other barbarous ceremonies. In their mode of living, they resemble the Celtic Britons, their remote ancestors.*

The want of manufactures, and the general poverty shutting up the various avenues to comfortable competence, which in flourishing countries present themselves on all sides, to ingenuity and talents, every person is under the necessity of seeking land to cultivate, and the farms being generally let to the best bidder, the rents are exorbitantly high. This advancement of rents, with the ruinous system of underletting, which is sometimes extended to a fourth, or even to a fifth tenant, leaves so very little profit to the actual cultivator, that in order to pay his exorbitant rent, he is obliged to subsist on the bare necessaries of life, without the enjoyment of any of its conveniencies, except when he can purchase a bottle of his beloved usquebaugh.† The original Irish being contented with potatoes, are enabled to pay a higher rent for their land than the English, who have almost entirely abandoned to them the south and west parts of the island.‡ This absurd system of middle men renting farms of the landlord, and letting them in lots to undertenants, who again parcel them out in smaller subdivisions, till, as already observed, they pass through

* Cæsar's com.

† Usquebaugh, or the water of life, is an ardent and pernicious distillation from corn.

‡ On the subject of Irish agriculture, vide Young's excellent tour, particularly vol. 2.

four or five hands before they come to the real occupier, is also practised in the Hebudes, and is certainly one of the greatest abuses that can exist in the management of landed property, being equally prejudicial to the proprietor and to the cultivator, and presenting a perpetual obstacle to agricultural improvement.* The northern and eastern counties are much less attached to this pernicious practice. There the farms are large, and produce a great quantity of corn, besides the numerous herds of cattle, which constitute so considerable a branch of the trade of Ireland.

From this desultory view of the condition of the lower classes of the peasantry, the cause of that proneness to rebellion, which has ever characterised the Irish, may be readily discovered. Extreme wretchedness and profound ignorance, in conjunction with a daring spirit and a strong, though uncultivated, intellect, render them the ready instruments of any change that factious leaders may meditate. In the Scottish islands the same causes cannot produce the same tremendous effects, among a thin population, divided, by tempestuous seas, into many separate portions, as in Ireland, where a numerous people, possessing the means of ready communication, is a dreadful engine in the hand of seditious and unprincipled demagogues. The causes of the evil, however, point out their remedies. Ignorance and indigence require instruction, and amelioration of condition; and, in a country like Ireland, sufficiently endowed with the riches of nature, both these desirable ends are attainable. Parochial schools, on a liberal plan, without any regard to religious distinctions,

* See Buchan. Journ. to the Hebudes, and other travellers.

would

would enlighten the minds of the natives, and bring them in time to adopt a right political creed. A more judicious plan of agricultural œconomy, with the introduction of trade and manufactures, would relieve their indigence. New prospects would be opened to industry, and every one would not, as at present, be compelled to seek subsistence by cultivating the soil. A variety of resources holding out to their view a greater proportion of the comforts of life, would direct their attention to various employments. By these means the rent of land and the price of labour would find their proportionate level. The people, contented and happy, would learn to appreciate the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and be no longer the dupes of seditious leaders, as they could expect no benefit from innovation. Judicious writers, in general, ascribe to the ignorance and degraded state of the lower classes in Ireland, the greatest part of those troubles which have convulsed that country. A recent and observing traveller explodes the prejudices that have so long been entertained against the Catholic clergy, whom, with some exceptions, such as are found in all denominations, he describes as a respectable order of men, and adduces many arguments in order to prove that it would be the best policy to provide means for the instruction of the lower classes of the people, without any view to proselytism.*

The native Irish, although ignorant and uncivilized, show every mark of a strong untutored intellect, and although impatient of injury or abuse, and violent in all their affections, the general characteristics of a masculine but uncultivated mind, evince the goodness

* Carr's Tour in Ireland, 511, &c. 514, &c.

of

of their disposition by their generous hospitality and courteous behaviour to strangers. Quick of apprehension and patient of hardship, they are qualified by nature for every kind of bodily or mental exertion. Indeed, whenever they are accidentally drawn from their native barbarism and obscurity, no people make a better figure in the different situations and employments of life.

We may finish our view of the British islands, with this important physical observation, that in the Scottish isles, the western highlands, and Ire land, where the rainy climate seems unfavourable to the human frame, the people, although so extremely ill fed, as scarcely ever to enjoy what an Englishman would call a comfortable meal, are remarkably strong, well-sized, robust, and handsome, and possess all the mental as well as corporeal powers and faculties in as eminent a degree as those of England, or any other country. It is a well known observation, that Ireland produces the stoutest men, and the finest women in Europe. These circumstances, collectively taken, form a curious article in the natural history of the human species, well deserving the attention of the philosopher.

CHAP.

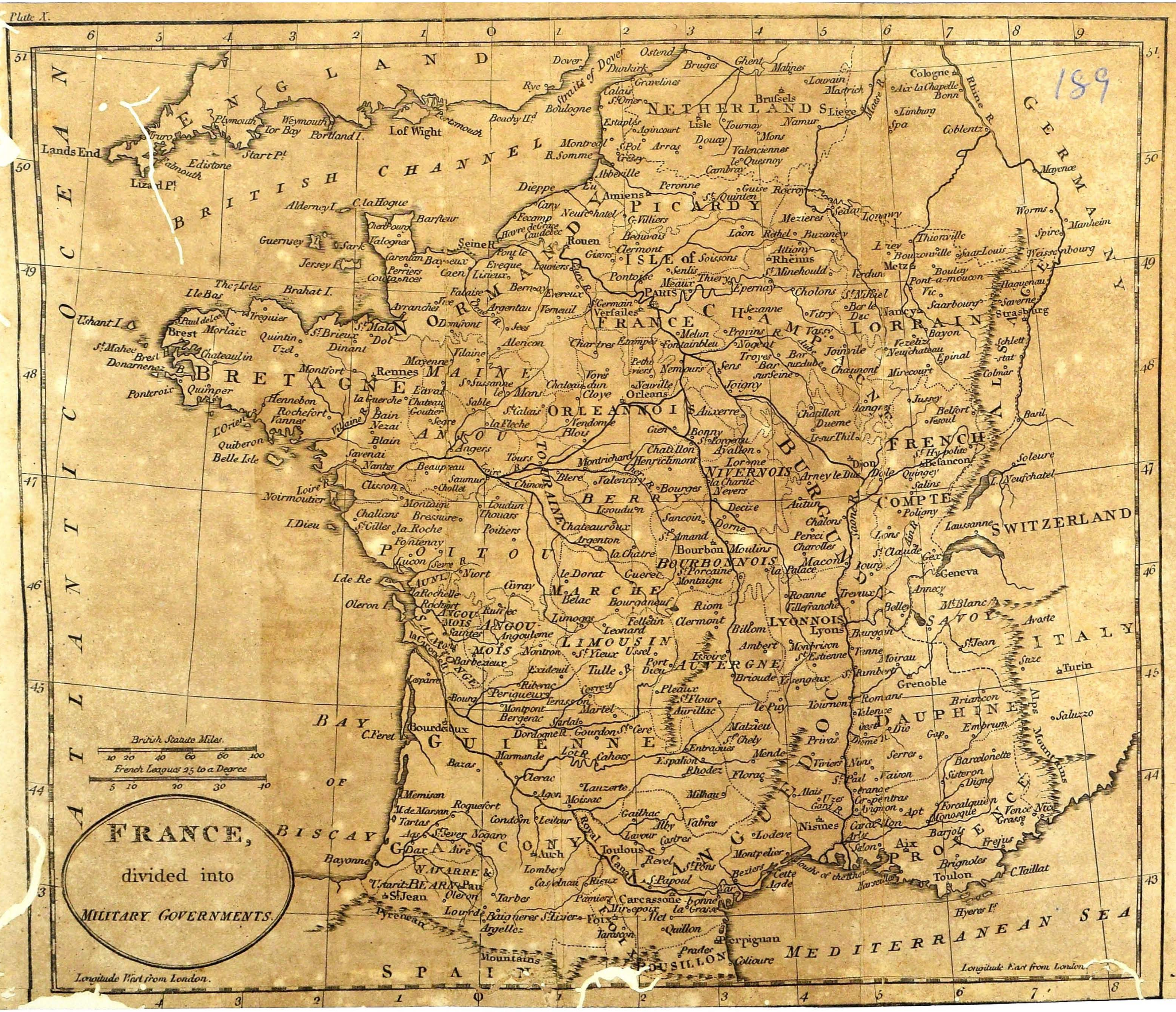


Plate X.
189
FRANCE,
divided into
MILITARY GOVERNMENTS.
British Statute Miles.
French Leagues 25 to a Degree
Longitude West from London.
Longitude East from London.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ENGLAND
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
SPAIN
PICARDY
NORMANDY
ISLE of FRANCE
CHAMPAGNE
LORRAINE
ALSACE
BRETAGNE
MAINE
ANJOU
ORLEANNOIS
TOURAINE
BURGUNDY
NIVERNOIS
FRENCH COMPTE
BERRY
POITOU
AUNIS
ANGOUMOIS
SAINTONGE
MARCHE
BOURBONNOIS
LIMOUSIN
AUVERGNE
LYONNOIS
DAUPHINE
SAVOY
GUIENNE
GASCONY
LANGUEDOC
PROVENCE
ROUSILLON
BEARN
NAVARRE
Pyrenean Mountains
Alps Mountains
PARIS

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL.

FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Old and New Divisions—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes— Mineralogy — Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and Artificial Curiosities.

IN a survey of the Globe and a view of its inhabitants, geographical position and political relation naturally point out France as the next subject of investigation, after the British islands. Its physical advantages, its literary scientific and military eminence, and its preponderancy in the European system, render this country an important and interesting object of attention to the statesman, the historian, and the philosopher.

Situation extent and boundaries.]—France, before the late acquisitions, was supposed to comprize an area of 148,840 square miles; but Mr. Neckar estimates it at 131,722,295, English acres, while Britain and Ireland are supposed to contain 99,335,589, acres.* The recent conquests, however, have considerably increased its extent, which now reaches from 42° to about 51° 20′ N. lat. and from 7° W. to about 6° E. long from Paris, The Rhine from its issue out of the Helvetic territory to its entrance into the Batavian kingdom, now

* The reader is aware that all calculations of this kind are far from exact, and can only be considered as vague and comparative.

forming

forming its boundary, on the side of Germany. The medium length of France may be computed at about 600 and its mean breadth at about 520 English miles.

The provincial division has, since the revolution, undergone a total alteration. Not only new arrangements have been adopted, but new names have been created, so that the past and future history of France will seem to treat of two different countries. To exhibit the ancient and modern division will therefore be indispensibly necessary, without which, the reader of gallic history must be perpetually bewildered in its chorographical obscurity.

ANCIENT PROVINCES.	DEPARTMENTS.	CHIEF TOWNS.
Flandre Françoise	Nord	Douai
Artois	Pas de Calais	Arras
Pacardie	Somme	Amiens
Normandie	Seine inferieure	Rouen
	Calvados	Caen
	Manche	Coutances
	Orne	Alençon
	Eure	Evreux
Isle de France	Seine	Paris
	Seine und Oise	Versailles
	Oise	Beauvais
	Aisne	Laon
	Seine and Marne	Melun
Champagne	Marne	Chalon sur Marne
	Ardennes	Mezieres
	Aube	Troyes
	Haute Marne	Chaumont
Lorraine	Meuse	Bar sur Ornain
	Mosselle	Metz
	Meurthe	Nancy
	Vosges	Epinal
Alsace	Haut Rhin	Colmar
	Bas Rhin	Strasbourg

Bretagne

ANCIENT PROVINCES.	DEPARTMENTS.	CHIEF TOWNS.
Bretagne	Isle and Vilaine	Rennes
Bretagne	Cotes du Nord	St. Brieux
Bretagne	Finisterre	Quimper
Bretagne	Morbihan	Vannes
Bretagne	Loire inferieure	Nantes
Maine and Perche	Sarthe	Le Mans
Maine and Perche	Mayenne	Laval
Anjou	Mayenne et Loire	Angers
Touraine	Indre and Loire	Tours
Orleannois	Loiret	Orleans
Orleannois	Eure and Loire	Chartres
Orleannois	Loire and Cher	Blois
Berri	Indre	Chateauroux
Berri	Cher	Bourges
Nivernois	Nievre	Nevers
Bourgogne	Yonne	Auxerre
Bourgogne	Cote d' Or	Dijon
Bourgogne	Saone and Loire	Macon
Bourgogne	Ain	Bourg
Franche-compté	Haute Saone	Vesoul
Franche-compté	Doubs	Besançon
Franche-compté	Jura	Lons leSaunier
Poitou	Vendée	Fontenay le peuple
Poitou	Deux Sevres	Niort
Poitou	Vienne	Poitiers
Marche	Haute Vienne, comprizing part of Limousin	Limoges
Marche	Creuze	Gueret
Limousin	Correze, comprizing part of Haute Vienne	Tulle
Bourbonnois	Allier	Moulins
Saintonge comprizing Aunis	Charente inferieure	Saintes
Angoumois comprizing part of Saintonge	Charente	Angouleme
Auvergne	Puy de dome	Clermont
Auvergne	Cantal	St. Flour
Lyonnois Foret and Beaujolois	Rhone	Lyon
Lyonnois Foret and Beaujolois	Loire	Montbrison
Lyonnois Foret and Beaujolois	Isere	Grenoble

ANCIENT PROVINCES.	DEPARTMENTS.	CHIEF TOWNS.
Dauphiné	Haute Alps	Gap
	Drome	Valence
Guienne and Gascogne	Dordogne	Periguex
	Gironde	Bourdeaux
	Lot and Garonne	Agen
	Lot	Cahors
	Aveyron	Rhodez
	Gers	Auch
	Landes	Mont de Marsan
	Haute Pyrenées	Tarbe
Bearn	Basses Pyrenées	Pau
Comté de Foix	Arriege	Tarascon
Roussillon	Pyrenées Orientales	Perpignan
Languedoc	Haute Garonne	Thoulouse
	Aude	Carcassone
	Tarn	Castres
	Gard	Nimes
	Lozere	Mende
	Ardeche	Privas
	Haute Loire	Le Puy
	Heraut	Montpellier
Provence	Bouches du Rhone	Aix
	Basses Alps	Digne
	Var	Toulon
Corsica	Golo	Bastia
	Liamone	Ajaccio

These are the departments into which the ancient territory of France was divided; the following comprize the recent acquisitions.

ANCIENT NAMES.	ANNEXED DEPARTMENTS.	CHIEF TOWNS.
Territory of Avignon Contat de Venaissin	Vaucluse with the Bouches du Rhone	Avignon
District of Alps Savoy	Mont Blanc	Chambery
County of Nice	Alp Maritimes	Nice
Bishopric of Bale	Mont Terrible	Porentray
Austrian Hainault	Jemmape	Mons
Western part of Austrian Flanders	Lys	Bruges

Eastern

ANCIENT NAMES.	ANNEXED DEPARTMENTS.	CHIEF TOWNS.
Eastern part of Flanders	Escaut	Gand or Ghent
Eastern part of Brabant	Deux Nethes	Anvers or Antwerp
Southern part of Brabant	Dyle	Bruxelles
Part of the countries of Liege and Guelderland	Meuse inferieure	Maestricht
Part of the countries of Liege and Limburg with the principalities of Stavelo and Malmedi	Ourthe	Liege
County of Namur	Sambre and Meuse	Namur
Duchy of Luxembourg	Forets	Luxembourg
Part of the Archbishoprick of Treves	Rhine and Moselle	Coblentz
Part of the Archbishoprick of Treves and of the Duchy of Deux Ponts	Sarre	Treves
Part of the Archbishoprick of Mayence and of the Duchy of Deux Ponts	Mont Tonnerre	Mayence
Part of the Archbishoprick of Cologne, of the Duchy of Juliers, of Prussian Guelderland, of Cleves, Mons, &c.	Roor	Aix-la-chapelle
Part of the territory of Geneva, of the districts of Gex, Larouge, Thonon, &c.	Leman	Geneve

Face of the Country.]—Almost every country of considerable extent presents, in different parts, a different aspect; and it is only the predominant appearance that can be considered as its general feature. France is mostly an open champaigne country, little incumbered with mountains or marshes, but beautifully diversified with the scenery of hill and dale, and picturesque rivers. The Limosin, for its beauty, is by some preferred before any other province of France.* Brittany, abounding in extensive heaths, bears a strong resemblance to Cornwall

* Young's Tour, vol. 1. p. 296.

Cornwall, and the moors in the north of England. Auvergne, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphine are the most mountainous districts.

Mountains.]—The principal mountains of France, unless we reckon in the number, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and Mount Jura, which skirt its borders, are the Cevennes in Languedoc, the mountains of Auvergne, and the Vosges in the department of that name, part of the ancient Lorraine. The grand chain of the Cevennes runs in a direction nearly from north to south, sending forth various branches. These mountains are remarkable for the artificial fertility conferred on some of their barren sides, by the industry of the inhabitants.* As the waters, which in rainy seasons run down in torrents, carry along with them considerable quantities of earth, walls of loose stones are raised to check their rapid descent. The waters filtering through these walls, deposits against their sides the soil brought down from the upper parts, and gradually forms behind them a level and fertile space. Successive ramparts being thus raised, sometimes almost to the summit of the mountain, the water has no longer a violent fall, but gently descending nourishes the crops, which are further protected by planting fruit trees, at certain intervals, so as to give security and consistence to the newly formed terrace. In some places, especially where the mountain is calcareous, as such commonly rise in shelves, a part of the rock behind the shelf, being cut down, affords materials for building the wall on the edge. The mountains of the ancient province of Auvergne extend 120 miles. The northern part of the

* Pinkerton, v. 1, p. 270, on the authority of Nicholson's Journal, 3, p. 295.

chain

chain is named the Puys de Dome, and the southern the Puy de Cantal.* The Monts d'Or forming the centre, are the highest in France, and their altitude far exceeds that of any mountains in Britain. The most elevated summit is that of the Puy de Sansi, which rises about 2100 yards above the level of the sea, and is almost perpetually capped with snow. The river Dordogne issues from two sources in its sides; and a number of cascades rushing down its declivities, amidst basaltic columns, form a grand and picturesque scene. Next in elevation is the Plomb du Cantal, rising to the height of about 2066 yards above the level of the sea, and 1666 yards is the altitude assigned to the Puy de Dome. These mountains are in winter exposed to dreadful hurricanes and falls of snow, which in a few hours reduce the ravines and precipices to a level, and descending to the villages, confine the inhabitants to their houses, which are sometimes so completely buried, that a communication is obliged to be opened in the form of an arch, under the enormous mass of snow; and unhappy is the traveller who happens to be overtaken by one of these tempests. In summer, thunder storms are frequent, and scarcely less terrible than the tempests of winter, being accompanied with torrents of hailstones of a prodigious size, which not only destroy the fruits, but sometimes do great damage to the flocks, that, during the fine season, pasture on the mountains.

The Pyrenees, forming the boundary between France and Spain, may be indifferently assigned to either country. This vast chain has till lately been much less explored than the Alps, and is yet one of

* Voyage dans les Departments. Cant. p. 5

the least known of all the European regions. For the best description of this interesting district, the world is indebted to the recent accounts of Ramond and La Peyrouse; the former of whom is the only person who has been able to attain the summit of Mont Perdu. This mountain, the most elevated point of the Pyrenees, is about 11,000 English feet above the level of the sea; and the calcareous rock, of which it is chiefly composed, assuming in many places the form of perpendicular walls, from 100 to 600 feet in height, together with the snows and glaciers, render its summit almost inaccessible. At the height of 9000 feet is a considerable lake, which discharges its waters into the Spanish valley of Benoussa. Canigou, rising to the height of almost 9500 feet, is, next to Mont Perdu, the greatest elevation. The next are Tuccaroy, Marboré, the Pic de Midi, the Pic d'Arni, la Breche de Roland, &c. Some of these are crowned with perpetual snow. One singular circumstance relating to these mountains forms a geological problem of difficult solution. The naturalists, Ramond and La Peyrouse, found that the highest summits of the Pyrenees, not excepting even that of Mont Perdu, in the most elevated parts, were replete with marine relics, and contained many shells and bones of sea animals, from which they conclude that these enormous mountains must once have been covered with the ocean.* If this be admitted, and it is difficult, on any other principle, to account for so surprising a phœnomenon, the inference will be, that the terraqueous globe must have undergone extraordinary convulsions, at some period anterior to the existence of history. The following general sketch of these

* Ram and Lapier. Journ. des Mines, No. 46, &c.

celebrated

celebrated mountains is delineated by these and other travellers:—At a distance, the whole chain appears like a jagged ridge, presenting the segment of a circle, descending towards each extremity until it disappears in the Ocean and the Mediterranean.* Their general composition consists of masses of granite, interspersed with argillaceous and calcareous bands, mostly in a vertical position. They have their glaciers and other terrific features of the Alps, and the adjacent vallies, besides the dangers resulting from the accidental fall of rocks, are exposed to the avalanches, or impetuous descent of immense masses of snow, similar to those seen in Switzerland. Towards Spain, the Pyrenees, consisting of nothing but an enormous assemblage of precipitous rocks, present an aspect of horrid sterility. On the side of France, the descent is more gradual, and the sloping declivities are in many places adorned with woods intermixed with pastures. But neither the mineralogy, nor the botany, nor even the topography of this celebrated region has yet been sufficiently explored.

The mountains of Vosges are inferior elevations, and exhibit nothing very remarkable. They contain, however, a few mines of lead. Mount Jura, a boundary between France and the Helvetic republic, is generally regarded as a branch of the Alps, and its elevation is very considerable, although overtopped by those gigantic neighbours. Mont Blanc, esteemed the highest of the Alps, being included within the boundary, ought now to be considered as a mountain of France. But in order to avoid confusing the reader by multiplying divisions, where they are evidently useless, we shall still class it with the moun-

* Voyage dans les Departments, 67, p. 4.

tains of Switzerland and Savoy, as such an arrangement exhibits the most concentrated view of the Alpine district.

Rivers.]—The rivers of France constitute an important object of consideration. The principal of these are the Loire, the Rhone, the Seine, and the Garonne. The Loire, which derives its source from Mont Gerbier, in the north of Languedoc, takes at the first a northerly course, then turns to the west, and, pervading some of the richest and most fertile provinces of France, enters the Ocean below Nantes, after having received, in its course of about 500 miles, a number of tributary streams, which greatly contribute to the conveniency of inland navigation and commerce.

The Rhone is next to the Loire in length of course. It takes its rise from the Glacier, near Mont Grimsel, in Switzerland, and, after pervading the Vallais and the lake of Geneva, takes a south-west, and afterwards a westerly direction, but with several circuitous windings, until it washes the noble city of Lyons. Near this place it receives the Saone, a very considerable stream; and afterwards, running almost directly south, falls into the Mediterranean. Its whole course is about 400 miles, and its stream is exceedingly rapid.

The Seine rising near St. Seine, in the department of Cote d'Or, one of the new divisions of ancient Burgundy, pursues a north-westerly course to Paris, and after pervading that metropolis passes Rouen and falls into the sea, by a wide æstuary at Havre de Grace. Its course, computed at 250 miles, is in general to the north-west, but both above and below Paris it makes a number of zigzag turnings. Its banks are in most parts pleasing and picturesque.

The

The Garonne has its source from the vale of Arau, in the Pyrenees, and its course, which is in general north-west, extends about 250 miles. After its junction with the Dordogne, the united stream assumes the name of the Gironde.

Canals.]—The incalculable advantages, in regard to internal communication and commerce, which France derives from these rivers, and the great number of others, joining them from different quarters, are greatly augmented by the navigable canals, among which that of Languedoc is the glory of the reign of Louis XIV. This great work was commenced and completed by M. Riquet, an able engineer, under the auspices of that monarch and his celebrated minister, Colbert, in the space of fifteen years, from 1666 to 1681, at an expence of about half a million sterling, a sum which, however great, will appear trifling when compared with those that were lavished during his turbulent reign on useless wars, which exhausted the resources of his kingdom, and desolated the neighbouring countries. This grand canal, which extends about 180 English miles, from the bay of Languedoc to the city of Thoulouse, where it enters the Garonne, is 144 feet in width and six feet deep. In one part of its course it is carried through a mountain, by means of a tunnel 720 feet in length, which, at that time, was considered as an extraordinary effort of art. A reservoir at St. Ferriol, comprising a surface of 595 acres, supplies the canal with water. It is generally said, that the original purpose of this undertaking, was the speedy conveyance of the fleets from the Ocean to the Mediterranean; but, from its shallowness, this plan seems to have been soon abandoned.

 Besides,

Besides, to have answered this intention, it was necessary that France should have possessed the sovereignty of the sea, or at least a balance of power on that element, otherwise the canal, however complete in its execution, might, in time of war, have been rendered useless by a naval blockade. The canal of Briaire, anterior in date, is not in utility inferior to that of Languedoc. It joins the canal of Orleans, and, by opening a communication between the Loire and the Seine, which affords the conveniency of water carriage between Paris and the most fertile parts of the interior, is the source of an extensive and important inland navigation and trade. The junction of this canal with the Seine, is, near Fontainbleau, about twenty miles from Paris. Next to these may be ranked the canal of Picardy, which begins at St. Quentin, and extending from the Somme to the Oise, affords the means of a convenient intercourse between the north-eastern provinces. The canals which open an inland navigation between Calais, St. Omer's, Dunkirk, and other places in that quarter, are also productive of great conveniences; and since the acquisition of the late Austrian Netherlands, those which connect Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, and several other cities and towns in the Belgic departments, may be added to the number. The rivers and canals which intersect these provinces in every direction, however, are so numerous, that a particular account of them would be tedious.

Lakes.]—In France the lakes, unless we may now include that of Geneva, can scarcely be considered as a geographical feature; and the same may be observed of the new departments of Belgium. Those which

which occur in Provence and some other parts are of inconsiderable extent, and adapted only to the minuteness of topographical description.

Mineralogy.]—The mineralogy of France if not remarkably rich, is at least sufficiently various. Some inconsiderable gold mines anciently existed in the southern parts; and small particles of that metal are sometimes found in the rivulets. It is probable, however, that those grains which have been found in the sands of the Ardeche and the Rhone, are of that base kind of gold mixed with silver, called, by the ancients, electrum.* This country can boast of some silver mines, although of inconsiderable value, in the department of the upper Rhine, a division of the ancient Alsace. Copper mines are also met with in the same district, as well as in the departments of the Alps, and those of the Loire and the Lozere. Some mines of lead occur in the maritime Alps, the mountains of Vosges, and other parts;† but more than two-thirds of the lead of France are produced in Bretagne, especially in the mines of Poullaoven and Huelgoet. Antimony is found in different departments, as also are considerable mines of calamine. Some quicksilver is found in ancient Savoy, now the department of the maritime Alps. But the ci-devant duchy of Deux-Ponts, now included in the departments of Sarre and Mont Tonnere, is a valuable acquisition to France, on account of the mines of quicksilver, the annual product of which is estimated at above 67,000lbs. weight, and the net profit at 127,500 livres. Iron, the most important, and, perhaps, the most universal of all metals, abounds in France, especially in some of the northern departments. In

* Journal des Mines, Ann. vi, p. 662. † Ibid, xi, p. 43, 44.

1798,

1798, it was computed, that 2000 furnaces, forges, &c. were employed in the working of iron and steel.* In the same year the number of coal mines were about 400. Of these the greatest number occur in the northern departments, although there are several also in the south. When we speak of the number of coal mines in France, we are not, however, to compare the quantity of their productions with that of the English mines. Every traveller knows, that in France a much less quantity of coal is produced and consumed than in England. Jet, a substance nearly allied to coal, although less abundant than formerly, is still found in many parts of France; but lately a considerable quantity has been imported from the mines of Arragon, to supply the manufacture of this article, which has long been centered in a few villages in the department of Aude, in the south-west part of ancient Languedoc. About twenty years ago, this manufacture employed 1200 hands, who annually wrought up about fifty tons of jet into rosaries, crosses, buttons, and various ornamental articles, of which the exports to Spain alone were estimated at the yearly sum of 7870*l.* sterling, exclusive of those to other countries.

Mineral waters.]—The principal mineral waters of France are those of Plombierres, Balarue, Bourbonne, Forges, Baniere, and Barrege. Those of Bourbonne, in particular, are much frequented, and the warm baths of Barrege, at the foot of the Pyrenees, have long possessed a considerable degree of celebrity. In general the waters of France are light, limpid, and wholesome.

Soil.]—In so extensive a country the soil must

* Journal des Mines, vii, p. 171.

naturally

naturally be various. The subject, however, has been ably illustrated by Mr. Young; and, from his remarks, we shall therefore exhibit a sketch of its principal variations. The north-east part, from Flanders to Orleans, is a rich loam. To the west of this division is a great extent of poor and stony land, Bretagne being generally gravel or gravelly sand, interspersed with low ridges of granite. Chalk preponderates in Champagne, and the same chalky vein runs quite through the centre of France, from Germany to Saintonge. A number of level heaths of great extent, give to some of the departments of ancient Gascogne a sterile and dreary aspect; although not only the champaign country and the plains, but even the mountainous districts in the south, are generally fertile.

Climate.]—The climate of France, as well as its soil, admits of a considerable variety, being very different in the northern and in the southern provinces. In general, however, the air is more pure and serene than in England; and it has also been esteemed more salubrious, although this opinion seems to be founded on fancy rather than reality. In proportion to its population, there is little reason to doubt that England exhibits as much health, and as many instances of longevity as France; and if some valetudinarians have found benefit by breathing the Gallic air, there is reason to believe that this was owing as much to the change of scene as of climate. It is certain that the summers are hotter, and the winters, at least in the northern parts, colder than in England. Even at Paris, notwithstanding its more southerly latitude, the cold in winter, is generally more intense than at London.

don.* Mr. Young considers the climate of France in three divisions, the northern, the central, and the southern, extending obliquely from the north-east to the south-west. The first of these yields no wine, the second no maize; but the third produces wine, maize, and olives. He also supposes, that "the eastern parts of the country are hotter by two degrees and a half of latitude than the western; or, if not hotter, at least more favourable to vegetation." The central division he esteems one of the finest districts in the world.

Vegetable productions.]—In regard to its vegetable productions, if France be divided by imaginary lines, from east to west, into four equal parts, the most northern will bear a strong resemblance to the south of England. The principal difference observable in the second division, consists in the display of a few vineyards thinly scattered. The third is distinguished by the first appearance of maize; and, in the southernmost, groves of olive trees are intermixed among corn fields and luxuriant vineyards. Silk is also one of its valuable productions. France far exceeds England, if not in the quality, at least in the quantity of its timber: and, by reason of its abundance, wood is the principal fuel. In some parts of the country, the forests are numerous and extensive. The most remarkable are those of Ardennes and Orleans, the latter of which was formerly the rendezvous of numerous troops of banditti that used to infest its vicinity. The

* London is in latitude	51°	31′
Paris in	48	60
Diff. lat	2	41

consequently Paris is situated 161 geographical, or about 186½ English miles to the south of London.

forest

forest of Ardennes formerly extended from Rheims to Tournay, and towards the north-east as far as Sedan. That of Fontainbleau is the next in celebrity; but many others of inferior note might be added. To exhibit a general view of French vegetation, it suffices to say, that corn, wine, fruit, and timber, are produced in equal perfection, and that the grape and the orange, the olive and the oak, display the same degree of luxuriance.*

But although the soil and the climate of France are so favourable to vegetation, yet, from the defective mode of French agriculture, the quantity of its production is less than might be expected in a country to which nature has been so profuse of her blessings. To exhibit the contrast between the French and English modes of husbandry, we shall give the statement of a writer who has amply illustrated the subject.

An English course for 11 years.		A French course for 11 years.	
1 Turnips.		1 Fallow.	
2 Barley.		2 Wheat . . .	18.
3 Clover.		3 Barley or Oats.	
4 Wheat. . . .	25.	4 Fallow.	
5 Turnips.		5 Wheat . .	18.
6 Barley.		6 Barley or Oats.	
7 Clover.		7 Fallow.	
8 Wheat . . .	25.	8 Wheat . . .	18.
9 Tares or Beans.		9 Barley or Oats.	
10 Wheat . . .	25.	10 Fallow.	
11 Turnips.		11 Wheat . .	18.
Bushels of Wheat	75.	Bushels of Wheat	72.

* Wine may be reckoned a staple commodity of France, and the various kinds are exported to a great amount. Those of Champagne, Burgundy, and Frontignac, are universally known and esteemed. Brandy also is a considerable article of traffic.

"The

"The Englishman," says Mr. Young, "in eleven years gets three bushels more of wheat than the Frenchman. He gets three crops of barley, tares, or beans, which produce nearly twice as many bushels per acre, as what the three French crops of spring corn produce. And he further gets, at the same time, three crops of turnips and two of clover, the turnips worth 40*s.* per acre, and the clover 60*s.* that is 12*l.* for both. What an enormous superiority!" On this statement, Mr. Young erects a cash account, which we shall here omit, as those kinds of estimates depend so much on the fluctuating prices of the different articles in different countries. According to these observations, however, it appears that the greatest disadvantage, arising from the French routine of crops is the want of the manure which might be produced by the eatage of the turnips and clover. Indeed, the radical defect of French agriculture, seems to be the neglect of grazing, and the consequent scarcity of manure; for although the rich pastures in the north support numerous herds of cattle, yet the same writer thinks that, in the whole of France, there is not one-tenth of the number that it ought to contain.* From a variety of observations, deductions, and inferences, Mr. Young estimates the advantages of the English over the French system of husbandry, supposing an equality of soil and of seasons, to be in proportion of 168 to 100, or, in the least integral numbers, of forty-two to twenty-five.† It must, however, be acknowledged, that the agriculture of France is in an advancing state; and that, in some parts of the country, the improvements of the system correspond with the natural fertility of the soil. What has already been mentioned

* Young, vol. 2. p. 52. † Ibid. vol. 1. p. 357.

tioned

tioned in regard to the Cevennes, exhibits a laudable spirit of industry.

Zoology.]—The zoology of France presents the same common and useful animals as that of England, but many of them in a somewhat inferior degree of perfection. The best horses for the saddle are those of the Limousin, which have been recently improved by the introduction of the Arabian, Turkish, and English breeds.* The best native horses for the draught, are those of Normandy. France has never been celebrated for its horses, although two or three centuries ago they were superior to those of England; and, even at a somewhat later period, the French politicians reproached this nation with its inferiority in this respect.† Subsequent improvements, however, have completely altered the case; and, previous to the late commencement of hostilities, France imported from England her best horses for the coach and the saddle. In horned cattle, France is equally deficient, both in regard to their number and size. Their flesh, however, is good; and Mr. Young, in comparing the beef of Paris and London, gives the preference to that of the French metropolis. The sheep are still less improved and worse managed, being generally fed with straw in the winter.‡ Their fleeces are consequently poor, and their size, as well as their number, is small. Large quantities of wool are, therefore, imported especially from Spain. From the deficiency of France in horned cattle and sheep, a scarcity of animal food necessarily prevails, so that the poor live chiefly on bread.

* Young, vol. 2. p. 55.

† Campbel Polit. Survey, vol. 2. p. 193, marginal note, where he refers to the authority of Mr. R. Child, apud Hartlib.

‡ Young's France, vol. 1. p. 430.

bread. In the year 1802, the whole number of sheep contained in the ample extent of France, was little more than 11,000,000, while those of England were computed at about 25,000,000.* The most remarkable ferocious animals are the wolf and the wild boar. The hunting of the latter has been long a favourite diversion. The ibex and the chamois are found on the bordering Alps and Pyrenees.

Natural curiosities.]--Some of the natural curiosities of France have already been mentioned; for the mountains of Auvergne and the Pyrenees may be deservedly placed under that head. The marine shells, &c. found in the most elevated parts of the latter, must indeed be classed among the most singular and inexplicable appearances that nature any where presents. At the bottom of a valley of inconsiderable extent, in the midst of a thick forest, near the village of Beaume, about eighteen miles from Besançon, is a remarkable cave containing a glacier. The mouth, which is on a level with the vale, is forty-five feet wide; and, after a long and steep descent, there appears a saloon of 100 feet high. From this cavern, another descent by a ladder of forty steps leads to the chamber where the glacier is seen. In this singular recess are vast stalactites of ice, sometimes nearly joined by pillars of the same material rising from the floor. The interior cold is so excessive, that when Reaumer's thermometer was on the outside at twenty degrees and a half it fell to one degree three-fourths within the cavern. The stony plain of La Crau, comprising an area of about 140,000 English acres, has not perhaps its parallel in Europe.† Its surface is entirely

* Report of the National Institute, 1802. Colonel Thornton's Tour, vol. 2, p. 69. † Young's tour, vol. 1. p. 379.

entirely composed of shingle or pebble, with some of the stones as large as a man's head; and the stratum beneath is a scanty mixture of loam with fragments of stone. In the winter, scattered tufts of grass spring up, which, from the vast extent of the plain, afford pasturage to a considerable number of sheep. This singular stony desert is situated in ancient Provence, not far from the mouth of the Rhone.

Artificial Curiosities and Antiquities.]—In regard to the monuments of ancient art, France abounds in specimens left by different ages. Among those which appear to be of the greatest antiquity, are the circles and other monuments generally styled Druidic. Near Carnac, in the department of Morbihan, a portion of ancient Bretagne, is seen an erection of this kind; which, according to late accounts, far exceeds Stonehenge. It consists of about 4000 stones, among which many are of the height of eighteen or twenty feet, disposed in a quincunx order of eleven rows.* The Roman antiquities are numerous, and in excellent preservation. After Gaul had been reduced by their arms, the Romans made it a considerable object of their attention; and, except Italy, no country in Europe exhibits more magnificent monuments of the greatness of that celebrated people. Those of Nimes, consisting of the amphitheatre, the temple of Diana, and the maison carrée, have constantly excited the admiration of travellers, and been the subjects of repeated description. Paris also exhibits some remains of Roman architecture, among the monuments of later periods, which have been amply illustrated by the indefatigable Montfaucon. The superb suit of tapestry, representing the contest between William

* Monthly Mag. Feb. 1801.

and Harold for the crown of England, formerly preserved in the cathedral of Bayeux, but lately removed to the Museum Napoleon at Paris, is a curious and interesting relic of the middle ages. It is said to be the work of Queen Matilta, the conqueror's Consort. A late traveller informs us, that it is 214 feet long but only eighteen inches broad; and judiciously remarks that it cannot possibly have been the work of that princess alone. He says that, excepting its antiquity, the recollections which it brings to the mind, and the exhibitions of ancient costumes, it contains nothing that can gratify curiosity.* It is divided into different compartments, each exhibiting a particular story: but the drawings are in an extremely bad style.

* Kotzebue's Travel to Paris, vol. 3, p. 219.

CHAP.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI MAHAL

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Remarkable Edifices—Islands.

AMONG the number of large and splendid cities and towns contained in the ample extent of France, Paris, the capital, principally challenges our attention. Its situation on both sides of the Seine, by which it is intersected from east to west, as London is by the Thames, is exceedingly pleasant and healthful. The two divisions of the city formed by the river, in some respects resemble those of the British metropolis; the northern part being not only larger and more populous but also more splendid, as it contains the imperial palace, and has always been the seat of the court. Most of the houses, especially towards the centre of the city, are five or six stories high and built of free stone, taken from quarries which run in various directions under the streets. It is a singular circumstance, that many streets of this immense capital are completely undermined. When Paris began to be first built of stone, the space which it occupied was very small, in comparison with its present circuit; and the stones used for the construction of the houses and other edifices were drawn from the neighbouring quarries. These were sunk in some places to the depth of forty or fifty yards, and carried to a great extent under ground. By degrees, as the city was enlarged, the streets were extended over these vast cavities; in most of which the superstratum has, through the care of go-

 vernment,

vernment, been secured from falling in by pillars and other artificial devices. A violent shock of an earthquake would, however, be peculiarly destructive, and might sink a considerable part of the metropolis into the subterraneous caverns from which it has risen; but fortunately, those dreadful phœnomena have scarcely ever been experienced at Paris. The French capital may also boast of its security from the damages occasioned by fires, which are so common in most other great cities. The floors of the houses being generally of brick, the staircases of stone, and the walls also of stone, without any wainscoting are excellent preservatives against that calamity.

In the central parts of Paris, the streets are in general narrow and dirty, and being always crowded with carts, curricles, and fiacres, following one another in constant succession, it is almost impossible to walk without being continually splashed with dirt from the wheels of such a mulitudinous number of carriages; no less than 3000 fiacres,* 1500 chariots, and 1500 cabriolets, being kept in this capital. Paris undoubtedly exceeds London in magnificence and splendor, but falls far short of it in cleanliness and conveniency. The banks of the Seine are adorned with noble quays, and the public buildings in general are not only elegant, but placed in open and commanding situations, an arrangement in which London, as already observed, is extremely deficient; but the want of accommodations for foot passengers, in the crowded streets of the French metropolis, is an inconvenience which no public magnificence can compensate, and strikingly shews the inattention of the great, to the lower classes of the people.

* Hackney Coaches.

Paris

Paris has long been the seat of voluptuousness and dissipation, and although one of the dirtiest, is certainly one of the liveliest, noisiest, most splendid, and most luxurious cities in the world. If we take the Palais de la Justice as a central point, the surrounding circle of about three miles in diameter incloses an immense population, comprehending the most splendid and opulent parts of the city, as the Thuilleries, the Palais Royal, seventeen or eighteen theatres, in which plays are daily acted,* besides several other public places of amusement; the Louvre, the quays, the fauxbourg St. Germaine, five bridges over the Seine, ten or twelve public halls, as many of the principal churches, above thirty of the finest hotels, the most crowded and wealthy streets, four superb squares, five or six markets, and an incalculable number of rich shops, stored with all the articles of convenience, elegance, and luxury. This extensive circle is the grand inclosure of every species of gaiety, splendour, and voluptuousness. In proportion as we recede from this noisy and crowded central part, the other quarters of the city nearer to the walls are cleaner, more airy, and in every respect more pleasant and inviting. The streets are longer and wider, the concourse of people and carriages is less, and the houses, although lower, are more modern. In this respect Paris resembles London, and all other ancient cities, which have received additional enlargements in modern times. The walls of Paris are about fifteen miles in circuit, and as the city is nearly circular, it must occupy at the least as great, if not a greater extent of ground than London. Mr. Young, however, supposes it to be about one third less than the

* Kotzebue's Trav. vol. 3, 12mo. p. 94.

the British metropolis.* The population of Paris has been variously estimated; some have supposed it to contain no more than 400,000 inhabitants, others have exhibited their number as not less than 800,000, or 900,000, while others again have stated it at the medium computation of 600,000, a number which may at present, perhaps, be too small. If the whole extent of Paris were crowded with streets and houses, like the central part, the population would indeed be immense; but towards the extremities are seen large open places, which present to the eye nothing but gardens and fields; the public buildings also, and many of the hotels or palaces of the great men, occupy a considerable space. The registers, however, of London and Paris, exhibit the births and burials in those two great cities as averaging nearly an equal number, and in consequence their population during the last century, as keeping nearly an equal pace.† From all the various documents which can be found, and the circumstances from which an estimate can be made, it appears that the population of Paris must be nearly about 700,000.

Of the remarkable edifices public and private in Paris, any description, or even a bare enumeration, would carry us beyond the limits of our design. It suffices, therefore, to notice a few, which, although they have been often described, are of too great importance to be wholly omitted. Among these, the present imperial, and formerly royal palace of the Thuilleries, claims the first attention. It was founded A.D. 1564, by Catharine de Medicis, under the direction of Philbert de Lolme and Jean de Bullan, two

* Tour in France, vol. 1, p. 76.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 211, 228, 320, and 328.

of

of the most celebrated architects of that age, and finished A.D. 1600 by Henry IV. In the reign of Louis XIV. it received additional embellishments after the designs of Louis le Van. The garden begun A.D. 1600 by Henry IV, and completed under Louis XIV, is one of the most beautiful and regular in Europe, being adorned with great numbers of the finest orange trees, and decorated with the most elegant specimens of ancient and modern sculpture. The palace remains nearly in the same state as under the former dynasty; but the gardens have been considerably improved. There used to be on every decade a parade in the court of the Thuilleries. During the short interval of peace, the court yard filled with generals and field officers, whose names and exploits were celebrated throughout Europe, exhibited a grand and imposing spectacle. The military dresses were remarkable for their splendor and variety, not only the caps, coats, belts, &c. but even the pantaloons and boots of the superior officers being richly ornamented with a profusion of gold and silver. Every evening, when the weather is fine, the gardens of the Thuilleries are filled with groupes made up of all the nations on the globe. The Louvre is the most magnificent structure in France, and the use to which it is converted does honour to the nation. History does not record the epoch of its foundation, nor the name of its founder. But Louis XIV. erected the superb façade, a noble specimen of the architectural skill of Claude Perrault, to whom the design is attributed. This celebrated piece of modern architecture has deservedly attracted the attention of all who have visited Paris; and no description can convey just ideas of the magnificent effect produced by the

 grandeur

grandeur of the design and the elegance of the symmetry. Before the revolution, the great gallery of the Louvre, 1300 feet in length, had been long appropriated to a noble collection of paintings; but the whole edifice has, since that event, been converted into a grand museum, called the central museum of the arts. This is at present the seat of the national institute, the principal of the learned societies of Paris. The object of this important establishment is to improve the arts, by uninterrupted inquiries, by the examination of works of literature and science, and by correspondence with the learned societies of foreign countries. It is divided into three classes: 1st. Mathematical and physical sciences. 2d. Moral and political sciences. 3d. Literature and the fine arts. Six members of the institute are constantly appointed to travel, at the public expence, besides a number of pupils sent to Rome, to study the fine arts, and several others, who travel both in France and in foreign countries, for the purpose of making agricultural observations. The library of the national institute contains above 16,000 volumes, and there is also a spacious room for a collection of machines and models. The Louvre is also the repository of all the finest paintings that were formerly scattered throughout the different departments of France, with the valuable addition of all those which have been obtained from the conquered countries, especially from Venice and Rome. Imagination can scarcely conceive a spectacle more grand and imposing, than that which is here exhibited to the eye of the artist and the man of taste. The halls of the Louvre display a magnificent profusion of the master pieces of statuary and sculpture, and the great gallery contains nearly

nearly 1000 paintings by the most celebrated masters of different countries.

The Palace of the Conservative Senate, formerly that of Luxemburgh, and that of the Legislative Body, are structures worthy of notice; but the Tribunal, or the Palais Royal, is one of the greatest curiosities in Paris, being the grand lounging place for the idlers of that vast metropolis. The building itself is nothing remarkable, being a parallelogram, which incloses a spacious garden ornamented with fine orange trees, and rendered commodious with gravel walks; but the concourse of people is incalculable and endless; and the crowd is the most numerous as well as the most brilliant, that is seen in any of the places of public resort in this bustling capital. In this respect neither the Boulevards, nor even the gardens of the Thuilleries, except on particular occasions, can be brought into comparison with the Palais Royal, which exhibits at every hour, both of the day and the night, a scene of extravagance, dissipation, and debauchery, under its Piazzas. Here shops, stored with all the articles of conveniency and luxury, coffee-houses, bagnios, and gaming-tables, vie with each other, in affording the idler, an opportunity of disposing of his money. In walking under these arcades, by night or by day, the observer of men and manners can never want matter for amusement and reflection, although the most interesting scene is exhibited in the evening. Every want, natural or artificial, may be supplied, every appetite indulged, and every desire meet with its appropriate gratification, in this scene of dissipation and perpetual variety. The moral philosopher, or the voluptuary, might pass his whole life in the Palais Royal, without feeling any necessity of going beyond

its

its walls for subjects of reflection, or means of luxurious enjoyment.

The Hospital of Invalids eminently merits attention, as being, perhaps, the noblest and most comfortable asylum, for wounded and superannuated warriors, that the ancient or modern world can boast. This majestic edifice, one of the most honourable monuments of the reign of Louis XIV, is composed of five courts. The kitchens are remarkable for their spaciousness, as the offices also are for their neatness and conveniency; and a good library, presented by the emperor when he was first consul, adds to the comforts of the gallant veterans. In a lofty and magnificent saloon, called the Temple of Mars, are suspended the ensigns of victory won by the arms of France in different ages. No less than 1,800 standards, taken in the late revolutionary war, are displayed among the military ornaments of this hall of triumph. Among these, however, an Englishman will feel a laudable pride in observing that no more than two British flags contribute to its embellishment. Paris contains no religious edifices that can vie with St. Paul's at London, or with the cathedral of York. The metropolitan church of Notre Dame is a Gothic edifice, in the form of a cross, with two heavy square towers. The church of St. Sulpice is a majestic structure, and its exterior produces a more sublime effect than that of the cathedral of Notre Dame.* The high altar is adorned with the most exquisite sculpture. The Pantheon, or church of St. Genevieve, is a superb piece of architecture, destined to preserve the ashes of the illustrious dead, who, by their writings or exploits, have done honour to their country. There are nine bridges over the Seine; but

* Kotzebue's Travels, vol. 2, p. 264.

none

none of them will bear any comparison with those over the Thames at London. The Seine is not more than half as wide as the Thames, and is adapted only to inland navigation, which is also rendered tedious by the number of circuitous windings. Among the monuments of ancient art, the spoils of vanquished nations, which are to be seen at Paris, the four celebrated horses of bronze brought from Venice, must be considered as a singular curiosity. These works of the famous Lysippus have never changed their place but in consequence of some great political revolution. The Romans, after having subjugated Greece, removed them from Corinth to Rome. From Rome they were carried to Constantinople, when that city was made the capital of the empire. After the capture of Constantinople by the French and Venetians, A.D. 1204, they were transported to Venice; and, on the reduction of that city, they were brought to Paris, where their station is now in the place du Carousel, adjacent to the Thuilleries.

The charitable institutions may be regarded as a considerable feature in a view of the French capital. According to some calculations, not less than between 17,000, and 18,000 distressed persons are provided for in the different hospitals. Previous to the revolution, the manufactures of Paris made a conspicuous figure; but that event almost totally put a stop to the efforts of industry. Since the revolutionary phrenzy subsided, and the government has acquired stability, the manufactures again begin to flourish. The manufactory of the Gobelins, so called from two celebrated dyers of Rheims, who settled at Paris in the reign of Francis I, is well known to stand unrivalled in the astonishing beauty of its tapestry, which has never been

equalled in any part of the world for the striking elegance and rich illusion of its figures. But those splendid works at present have a heavy sale, being both unfashionable and too expensive for persons of moderate fortunes. Next to this celebrated manufacture may be ranked those of looking-glasses, porcelains and chrystals. The tannery of Seguin has become famous by the recent discovery of a mode of tanning, not less conducive to the perfection of the leather than remarkable for the quickness of the operation.

Nothing in this splendid metropolis has greater claims to the attention of the traveller, nor confers more honour on the French nation, than the numerous and appropriate institutions for the advancement of science and literature, with their curious collections of the rarities of nature and the masterpieces of art; and the public libraries, which are all gratuitously open to the public. The door of every national library and national museum is thrown open, and every one enters without pay, and without molestation. A person may traverse the magnificent halls of the Louvre, examine the most perfect specimens of ancient and modern art, visit the different museums, and peruse the choicest books of the best libraries in the world, without ever being asked for a single sous. The national institute, and the central museum of the Louvre, have already been mentioned. The national museum of natural history, with a library of about 10,000 volumes, and a fine botanical garden, constituting a place of resort for crowds of people of every description; the cabinet of medals, the richest collection of the kind in the world, and the national museum of sepulchral monuments of the kings, philoso-

 phers,

phers, and literati of France, brought from the abbey of St. Denis and other parts, and arranged in different apartments, corresponding with the number of centuries, from Clovis to the present period, also merit, in an eminent degree, the attention of the curious. The great national library is the noblest and most interesting object of the kind to be met with in the world. Before the revolution, it was supposed to equal, if not to excel every other collection in Europe; and vanquished Italy has since contributed to increase its treasures. The Vatican has supplied 500 select Greek and Latin manuscripts; and the library of St. Marc, at Venice, 230 more to this immense Parisian vortex of literature. The whole number of manuscripts is above 80,000, of which about 25,000 are in the learned and foreign languages. Thirty thousand relating to the history of France, compose the Gallerie de Mazarine. Besides these, there is a collection of 5000 portfolios of genealogies, and 3,000 volumes of prints. The whole number of manuscripts and printed books is said to exceed 300,000; and since it has been enriched with the spoils of Venice, Florence, and Rome, it contains the most extensive and valuable collection of human knowledge any where extant. Paris is now the central repository of all that is most curious and rare in literature and the arts. This circumstance, in conjunction with the extraordinary scenes which have lately been transacted in that city, with the military fame and political greatness to which the French empire has attained, will render it an interesting object to the philosopher, the artist and the historian; and secure to it in a still more eminent degree, the advantage which it has long enjoyed of being the general

rendezvous of the great, the wealthy, and the curious of all nations.

The commerce of Paris, as may be readily perceived from its situation, is wholly internal; its distance from the sea being unfavorable to foreign trade, and the Seine being navigable only to vessels of small burden. Its inland commerce, by means of the rivers and canals which fall into the Seine; and, as already observed, open a communication with the richest and most fertile provinces of the interior, is very considerable, a brisk circulation being kept up in the country by the population and wealth of the capital. The wealth of Paris, though great, will not, however, bear a comparison with that of London. The great sources of wealth in Paris are the residence of the court, and the grandees, who hold lucrative offices, and possess vast estates; the great resort of foreign nobility and gentry; and, since the revolution, the plunder of conquered countries. How much soever the other parts of France may have suffered in consequence of this event, and the wars to which it has given rise, the metropolis has received additional embellishments, and increased in population and riches. Many of the generals and statesmen, like those of ancient Rome, vie with sovereign princes in grandeur and opulence; and the greatest part of those, who have made fortunes by politics or by the sword, expend them amidst the gay scenes of the capital, and thereby contribute to animate its trade, and increase its splendor.

The first historical notice of Paris is in Cæsar's Commentaries.* In his time it was restricted to a

* Cæsar's Comm. lib. 6, cap. 3, and lib. 7, cap. 54.

small

small island formed by the Seine, now called the cité;* which, as it is the most ancient, is now the dirtiest, gloomiest, and most disagreeable part of the French metropolis. At this period it was esteemed a place of great strength, and was called by the Romans Castrum Parisiorum. A vast forest on the north side of the river then covered the identical spot on which the best part of Paris now stands. The Romans, although they gave it the name of Lutetia, from its dirty soil, appear to have considered it as an eligible situation; and the emperor Julian, when governor of Gaul, made it his favorite residence. From that time it began to rise into notice; and, about the beginning of the sixth century, Clovis made it the capital of his kingdom. Like all other ancient cities, it has received successive enlargements. In the reigns of Louis VII, and Philip Augustus, it was considerably extended and embellished;† and, in proportion to the refinement of taste and the increase of wealth, different monarchs contributed to render it more worthy of being the royal residence and the capital of the kingdom. But the greatest improvements were reserved for the reign of Louis XIV, since which time it has been the general resort of foreigners of distinction and opulence.

The environs of Paris, displaying a number of handsome villages, small towns, and elegant villas, are extremely delightful. A pleasant road through the Champs Elisces* leads to the Bois de Boulogne. This wood, which was greatly defaced during the popular

* Paris consists of three parts: the town on the north, the city in the middle, and the university on the south.

† Henault's Abrege Chronol. reigns of Louis VII. and Philip Augustus.

‡ Elysian Fields.

tumults

tumults that marked the commencement of the revolution, has been lately planted with trees, and is become as it had formerly been the resort of the Parisians, who form rural parties to relax their minds after the fatigues of business, or the turbulent pleasures of their noisy and bustling city. The Bagatelle, a beautiful chateau, formerly belonging to the Count d'Artois, is situated on the confines of the Bois de Boulogne, and near the banks of the Seine. No expence had been spared in its embellishment; and, although many of its ornaments were destroyed, it is still a delightful promenade. Palsy, a beautiful village, situated on an eminence finely rising from the Seine, is one of the most agreeable places in the vicinity of Paris, being equally remarkable for the salubrity of the air and the beauty of the prospects. No place upon earth can be more delightful than the town and chateau of St. Cloud, four miles and a half from Paris, the summer residence of the emperor, and the favorite retreat of the unfortunate Louis XVI, who had purchased it in 1785, and had scarcely completed its elegant decorations, when the revolution commenced, which proved so fatal to him and his family. The present, as well as the former government, has bestowed vast sums on its embellishment; and no efforts of art, nor expenditure of money, has been wanting to render it a terrestrial paradise. The most superb paintings adorn the apartments, and the park displays the happiest combination of the beauties of nature and art. The waterworks, with which it is ornamented, astonish, by their grandeur and variety, especially the great cascade, which excites admiration, and almost surpasses the powers of description, while the irregularities and risings of the ground produce the most varied and picturesque

picturesque effects. In the most elevated part is a fine esplanade, which commands a delightfully variegated and extensive view, comprising almost the whole city of Paris contrasted with an immense landscape, embellished with the meandering course of the Seine, forming innumerable windings, and losing itself in the wide expanse. A small pavilion, erected by the unfortunate Maria Antoinette in a part of the wood called Felicité, excites recollections which form a melancholy contrast with its name. The palace of Versailles, which has long been the pride of Frenchmen and the admiration of foreigners, has, as well as St. Cloud, in a great measure escaped the ravages of the revolution. Although many of its fine paintings are removed to the National Museum at Paris, a sufficient number is still left to form a grand and tasteful assemblage. The saloons of the heathen gods and goddesses are models of elegance. The great gallery, on the arched ceiling of which nine large paintings, accompanied by eighteen of a smaller size represent, by symbolical figures, the passage of the Rhine, the conquest of Holland, and the other principal events of the reign of Louis XIV, is a master-piece of magnificence. The chapel is also a superb monument of the piety or the pride of that celebrated monarch, the grandeur of whose family has now experienced that fate of which history records so many examples. The palace and the park of Versailles would require a volume of description. The beauty of the latter corresponds with the magnificence of the former. The fine orange grove, the water-works, and the baths of Apollo, may be reckoned among the principal embellishments. The Chateau of Marli, on the road to Versailles, which by its fine architecture and superb decorations,

corations, formerly attracted the attention of foreigners, fell a sacrifice to popular fury at an early period of the revolution; and a cotton-mill now occupies its site. But that chef-d'œuvre of mechanics, the stupendous machine which supplies Versailles with water is yet to be seen; and its astonishing powers cannot fail of exciting admiration. Trianon is a small, but elegant palace, situated in the park of Versailles. The garden is delightful; as are also those of Little Trianon, situated at a small distance, and distinguished by the appellations of the English and French Gardens. The celebrated convent of St. Cyr, founded by Louis XIV. for the education of the female nobility, and of which Madame de Maintenon was the first abbess, is now converted into a college. And the magnificent palace of Choisi, purchased and embellished by Louis XV, is now demolished. This village, six miles distant from Paris, is situated on the banks of the Seine, and commands a charming prospect. The Chateau of Mendon, situated on an eminence, commanding a view of Paris, has been converted into barracks for the artillery. The Chateau de Bellevue, a chef-d'œuvre of architecture, has undergone a similar fate. This chateau was built by Madame de Pompadour, who, perceiving that Louis XV. was delighted with the beauty of the situation, as well as with the magnificence and taste of the apartments, made a present of it to her royal lover. The village of Belleville, situated at a small distance from the Barriere de Courtille, on an eminence, which commands a view of Paris, is also extremely pleasant. Here great numbers of the Parisians have neat country houses, from which they enjoy a charming view of an extensive country crowded with towns and villages. Among the magnificent and commanding

commanding situations in the environs of Paris, the suburb of Montmartre cannot be overlooked. The summit of the hill affords a near and distinct view of the metropolis. The spectator looks down upon the whole before him as far as the Seine, and sees the farther part of the city, beyond that river, rising in the form of an amphitheatre, and making a grand and picturesque appearance. The Chateau de St. Germaine is agreeably situated, and the terrace commands a charming prospect. This was for several centuries a summer retreat of the kings of France, where they frequently used to take the diversion of hunting in the adjacent forest. Here James II. of England found an asylum; and here that infatuated prince died, A.D. 1700, after twelve years of leisure to reflect on the consequences of his arbitrary and injudicious conduct. The Chateau de Vincennes, about three miles distant from Paris, is of great antiquity, and was formerly one of the palaces of the kings of France. It was afterwards converted into a state prison; and the celebrated Mirabeau spent four years in its dungeons. The Abbey of St. Dennis, so long the burying place of the kings of France, is a fine Gothic structure. The sepulchral monuments, and other objects of curiosity which it contained, formerly attracted the attention of travellers. The tombs, &c. which escaped the unhallowed hands of barbarian despoilers, in the early stages of the revolution, are now removed to the national museum of French monuments at Paris; and the recollection of ancient times can alone render this celebrated place of royal sepulture interesting.

Although the environs of Paris are agreeably diversified, and extremely pleasant, it may, however, be in general remarked, that they have a less animated appearance

pearance than those of the British metropolis. The roads are less crowded with carriages and passengers, and the immediate vicinity is less populous than that of London. The vast population of Paris, as already observed, is closely compressed in the central part; and, although some of the principal chateaux are extremely magnificent, as well as delightfully situated, the environs are not so much crowded with the villas of opulent merchants, and tradesmen of easy fortunes; the infallible marks of a flourishing commerce.

Lyons.]—Lyons has generally been considered as the second city of France; and, before the revolution, it surpassed all the others, except Paris, in wealth and population; having been supposed to contain 100,000, or, according to some computations, 160,000 inhabitants.* Its trade was also extremely flourishing; and extended not only throughout France, but also to Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain. This town, at the time of the revolution, adhered strongly to the aristocratic party; a circumstance which occasioned its almost total desolation. During the reign of Jacobinism it was besieged and captured by the national army; and its reduction was followed by a dreadful slaughter of its inhabitants. A decree was afterwards passed for its total demolition, which, however, was not carried into full execution. Since that infatuated period it has begun to recover from this terrible disaster; but, as commerce once expelled is not easily recalled, it is doubtful whether this celebrated city will ever regain its former prosperity and opulence. As the principal manufactures of Lyons, and the support of its flourishing trade, consisted in silks, cloths of gold and silver, and other articles of luxury; its

* Pinkerton's Geog, vol. 1, p. 261.--Walker's Gazet. Art. Lyons.

firm

firm adherence to the aristocratic body is easily accounted for; as the revolution, especially in its first stages, was peculiarly hostile to its interests.* Lyons is situated at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saone; and mountains of a considerable height secure it from the north winds, which often blow there with great violence. This city was anciently called Lugdunum; and was a considerable place in the time of the Romans. Its great commercial fairs, which afterwards became so famous, were established by Louis XI, about A.D. 1472; and, in 1521, it was considered by some as one of the three richest cities of Europe; the two others being Venice and Genoa.† At this time, however, these three cities have experienced a great reverse, and are sunk far beneath others which were then only rising to opulence.

Thoulouse.]—After Lyons, Thoulouse is generally reckoned the most considerable city of France. It is a place of great antiquity; but neither its wealth nor its population corresponds with its extent and ancient fame; its trade being inconsiderable, and the number of its inhabitants not exceeding 60,000. In the times of remote antiquity, this city was the capital of the Tectosages, who extended their conquests into Greece and Asia Minor. While the Romans held the sovereignty of Gaul, it was a place of considerable note, and afterwards the capital of the kingdom of the Visigoths, and also of that of Aquitaine. It is situated near the junction of the canal of Languedoc with the Garonne; and, in consequence of those means of communication with the ocean and the Mediterranean,

* At one period the silk manufacture of Lyons was supposed to employ 60,000 persons; the looms being estimated at 12,000.

† Chevalier de Mailly's Hist. de Genes, tom. 2, liv. 10me.

might have been a commercial and opulent city; but its inhabitants have never addicted themselves to trade; and its manufactures are not worthy of notice. Their attachment to science and literature, however, has been as remarkable as their neglect of commerce; and in no city of France, except Paris, have the belles lettres been more successfully cultivated. Thoulouse contains the ruins of a superb amphitheatre, and other Roman monuments. The walls of the town, as well as the houses, are built of brick; and the streets, although not spacious, are handsome. The town-house is a modern structure; and the principal front occupies an entire side of the grand square, lately called the Place Royale. Under the old government, the Parliament of Thoulouse was esteemed the next in rank to that of Paris.

Rouen.]—Rouen, formerly the capital of Normandy, is regarded as the next great city of France after Thoulouse, which, however, it surpasses both in population and trade. The number of its inhabitants is computed at above 70,000; and, although it has a disagreeable appearance, the streets being narrow, crooked, and dirty, and the houses generally built of wood, it is supposed to be one of the most opulent towns in France. Rouen has large woollen manufactures, and its linens are much esteemed. This city is more than four miles in circuit, and the public buildings are elegant.

Lisle.]—Lisle, in the ancient French Flanders, now the department du Nord, is inferor to few of the towns already mentioned, in splendor, wealth, and importance. Its population is computed at about 60,000, and its manufactures, of silk, cambrics, lace, and camblets, are very considerable. The magnificence of this city has procured it the appellation of

little

little Paris. Its fortifications, the work of the great Vauban, are esteemed the strongest and most regular in Europe; and its garrison is always numerous, seldom consisting of fewer than 10,000 men. Valenciennes has considerable manufactures of cambrics, camblets, and lace. Its fortifications are strong, and its name is rendered memorable, by the siege it sustained against the combined army, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to whom, however, it surrendered on the 26th of July, 1793, but was retaken by the troops of the republic, in the following year. This town was the birth place of Philippa, daughter of John Duke of Hainault, consort of Edward III. king of England, and also of John Froissart, the celebrated historian.

Among the other inland towns of France, may be noted Metz, in the ancient Lorraine, now department de Moselle, a large and ancient town, adorned with an elegant square and a magnificent cathedral. The population is estimated at 40,000. The Jews, who amount to about 3000 or 4000, live in a separate quarter, and carry on a considerable trade in confectionary wares, the sweetmeats which they prepare being greatly esteemed. Metz is situated at the confluence of the Moselle and the Seille, and has strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Nancy, in the same province, is a beautiful city, but not equal to Metz in extent. Strasbourg, remarkable for its fortifications, and its Gothic cathedral, with its spire of 574 feet in height, contains about 40,000 inhabitants. Orleans, a city of nearly the same population, is rendered memorable by two sieges, which it sustained in the fifth and fifteenth centuries, the former against Attila, king of the Huns, and the latter

against the English, in both of which the besiegers were unsuccessful. Montpellier, the great resort of valetudinarians, from all parts, is situated on a hill near the small but navigable river Lez, not more than four or five miles from the Mediterranean. The environs are delightful, and the prospects, embracing on one side the Pyrenees, and on the other the Alps, are singularly grand and extensive.* This city is beautiful and opulent, containing about 30,000 inhabitants, who carry on a considerable manufacturing trade in silks, cottons, calicoes, gauzes, &c. but it derives its principal importance from its ancient school of medicine, and salubrity of its air, for which it has long been deservedly celebrated.

The chief commercial ports of France are Bourdeaux and Marseilles, one on the ocean, the other on the Mediterranean, nearly of equal magnitude and population, each being supposed to contain between 80,000 and 90,000 inhabitants.

Marseilles is a city of great antiquity, and undoubtedly the most ancient in France, being founded, according to the generally received opinion, about A. A. C. 600, by a colony of Greeks. It was remarked as a flourishing city, famous for learning, arts, and magnificence, and a place of great resort for the study of the sciences and belles lettres, when the rest of Gaul was immersed in barbarism.† It is situated partly on the declivity of a hill, and partly on a plain, at the upper end of a bay of the Mediterrean, and has an excellent port. Marseilles consists of two towns, the old and the new, which exhibit a complete contrast, the former being ill built and in-

* Young's Tour, vol. 1. p. 40.

† Tacit. Vita Agric. cap. 4, Strabo Geog. lib. 4.

elegant,

elegant, having narrow and dirty streets, with steep ascents, the latter extremely beautiful, with well built houses, spacious streets, and fine squares. This city has at different times suffered severely from the plague, particularly in 1720, when 50,000 persons, who must have composed nearly two-thirds of its population, were carried off by that dreadful disease. In this time of calamity and horror, Belfunce, the good bishop, celebrated by Pope; Bougeret, a canon; Langeron, the commandant; and Montier, one of the city magistrates, imitating the conduct of Archbishop Sheldon, Monk Duke of Albemarle, William Earl Craven, and Sir John Lawrence, mayor of London, in the destructive pestilence of 1666, continued in Marseilles, and by their intrepid and indefatigable humanity preserved multitudes, who were sinking under the pressure of disease and want. Names like these deserve to be recorded. This city has from a very early period been celebrated for its trade; but the year 1669 is one of the most brilliant epochs in its commercial history. At that time, the court of France, in order to encourage and promote the exportation of the woollen manufactures, which were then in a flourishing state, issued money from the royal treasury to the merchants of Marseilles, to be repaid after the return of the ships from the Levant.* This enabled them to wrest from Holland and England the greatest part of the Turkey trade, which they had, previously to the revolution, almost monopolized. The number of vessels that arrived at this port, in the year 1753, was, according to Mr. Anderson's account, 1264, which shews the great trade of Marseilles in the last century.† The environs are beautiful, being em-

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2, p. 499. † Ibid. vol. 3, p. 298.

bellished

bellished with between 4000 and 5000 small country houses, which make a fine appearance, and indicate the prosperity of the citizens.*

Bourdeaux, the other chief commercial port of France, is situated on the Garonne, and, before the revolutionary war proved so fatal to the maritime concerns of France, had a very extensive trade. When the commerce of France is in a flourishing state, the exportation of wines and brandy from this port, to most parts of Europe, is amazingly great; and it has been a long time in possession of the best share of the West India trade. The Vin de Bourdeaux, generally called Claret, from its transparency, is one of the principal exports. The merchants of Bourdeaux, before the late commotions, were opulent, and lived in a splendid style. The theatre is the most magnificent in France, and the actors used to receive liberal salaries. The city is handsome and conveniently planned, most of the principal streets leading directly to the extensive quay, which runs along the banks of the Garonne. This city, with the whole province of Guienne, being annexed to the continental dominions of Henry II. of England, in consequence of his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, began at that time to be much frequented by the English, and the intercourse has, in time of peace, ever since continued.† Bourdeaux is also memorable on account of the residence of the illustrious Edward, commonly called the Black Prince, who kept his court in that city, during his residence in those parts.‡ These two principal trading towns of France

* For the antiquity and early commerce of this city, vide M. Rossi's Histoire de la ville de Marseilles, folio 1642.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, 155. ‡ Rapin's Hist. Eng.

may,

may, upon the whole, be regarded as nearly on a parity with Liverpool and Bristol. A late judicious traveller, however, thinks, that before the revolution, Bourdeaux considerably surpassed Liverpool.*

Nantes, although inferior to Marseilles and Bourdeaux, is a large commercial city, comprising a population of between 50,000 and 60,000. It is situated on the Loire, and has several fine new streets, with a splendid theatre, and extensive suburbs. Before the revolution, Nantes was the principal port in France for the slave trade, and had greatly augmented its wealth by the traffic of human flesh. Port l'Orient and Havre-de-Grace are also considerable trading towns. The commerce of Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, is never very extensive; but in time of war they carry on the business of privateering with great assiduity and often with considerable success. These three last are strongly fortified. Boulogne has been, during the present war, a great rendezvous of troops, and a place of bustling resort, on account of the preparations for the invasion of England.

Brest and Toulon, the two great naval arsenals, are striking features in the maritime aspect of France. Brest is situated on the north side of an exceedingly fine bay, opening into the Atlantic, with a narrow and difficult entrance, which secures the shipping from any attack of an enemy. The quay extends about a mile in length, and here is every accommodation for the fleets. The town, which is seated on the declivity of an eminence, is only of small extent. The streets are narrow and crooked; and about 30,000 is supposed to be the amount of its population. Toulon exceeds Brest in extent and population, as well as

* Young's Tour in France, vol. 1, p. 60.

in

in grandeur, although generally reckoned inferior in regard to naval importance. It is divided into the old and the new quarters, which display the same contrast as the old and new towns of Marseilles, the first being ill built and making a poor appearance, the other containing many elegant houses, and a fine square lined with trees, besides several magnificent works of Louis XIV. There are also two harbours, the old and the new, corresponding with the quarters of the town. The old is called the merchant's harbour, and is bordered by an extensive quay. The new harbour, the work of Louis XIV. is amply provided with accommodations for ships of war; and the dock-yards, basons, &c. are very extensive. Both the old and the new port have an outlet into the spacious outer road or harbour, which is formed, by nature, almost circular, and surrounded with hills. This town will be rendered memorable, in the history of the French revolution, by its surrender to the English, in the autumn of 1793, and the dreadful consequences which ensued. But this is not the only calamity which Toulon has experienced. It has been several times almost depopulated by the plague, having suffered no less that nine different visitations of that dreadful disease, since the commencement of the fifteenth century, the last of which happened in the year 1720, at the time when Marseilles suffered so severely under the same infliction.

Edifices.]—Most of the principal edifices of France have been mentioned in describing the cities and towns, especially Paris and its vicinity. The Gothic cathedrals and castles are too numerous for particular notice. The French nobility had grand chateaux in every part of the kingdom, although they resided almost

most constantly in the metropolis.* The bridge of Neuilé, consisting of five wide arches of equal size, and esteemed the most beautiful in Europe, may be mentioned as a master piece of its kind. It may not be amiss to conclude this article by remarking, that in architecture the French were long superior to the English: now they can only boast an equality.

Islands.]—The shores of France present few islands of any great importants. Those on the western coast are of inconsiderable extent, and of little celebrity, except the isle of Oleron, famous for a code of maritime laws, promulgated about A.D. 1194, by Richard I. king of England, to whose French dominions this island was an appendage. The isle of Rhe, opposite to Rochelle, is noted only on account of the English expedition, in the reign of Charles I. Belleisle is about nine miles long, and three broad, and almost surrounded with steep rocks. It contains a town called Palais, with a strong citadel; but notwithstanding the difficulty of access and the strength of the fortifications, it surrendered to the British arms, June 1, 1761, after having for some weeks made a gallant defence. On this coast are several other small islands, but of too little importance to merit description. Ushant, about twelve miles distance from the continent, and nine in circuit, containing about 600 inhabitants, may, however, be mentioned as being the most westerly headland of France. On the Mediterranean coast, the isles called Hieres, near Toulon, have a barren and naked appearance. Some writers, however, ascribe to them a portion of ancient fame, as being Homer's celebrated isle of Calypso. But the

* For discriptions of the palace of Chantilli, and several others, see Col. Thornton's Tour.

spacious

spacious and excellent road for shipping between the continent and these islands capable of affording a secure shelter to the largest fleets, is the only circumstance from which they now derive any importance.

Corsica is the most important and extensive of all the French islands, in the number of which it has not till lately been classed, as it lies nearer to Italy than to France, and was not annexed to the dominions of the latter till after the middle of the last century. The language and manners also of the people are, or at least were, till of late, rather Italian than French. This island is more remarkable for the courage and bravery of its inhabitants, and the noble stand which they successively made against the power of Genoa and of France, than for any natural advantages which it possesses. The country is mountainous, barren, and ill cultivated; the air thick and unwholesome.* Wheat and other grain are produced in the vallies, and a variety of fruits, such as olives, grapes, figs, and almonds on some of the hills; but the general aspect of the country presents a picture of sterility. This island has often changed its masters, having been successively under the dominion of the Carthagenians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Pisans, the Genoese, and the French, of whose empire it now forms a department. Corsica had derived celebrity from the courage and conduct of that illustrious patriot Paschal Paoli, and has obtained a still more splendid memorial in the page of history, by giving birth to the present Emperor of the French.

* La Croix's Geog. vol. 1. p. 528.

CHAP

CHAP. III.

Historical View—General Progress of Society, &c.

ALTHOUGH France, the ancient Gaul, was, from the earliest ages of historical record, a country of abundant fertility and vast population, it was not able to make an advantageous use of its immense resources. Divided, like most other countries, into a number of independent and unconnected states, it had no common centre of political union. The Gauls were frequently involved in intestine wars; and their confederacies, the result of temporary circumstances, were, like those of other barbarians, ineffective, inconstant, and totally inadequate to any grand system of national enterprize, founded in general concert.* Some of the Gallic tribes, however, at different epochs, made formidable inroads into other countries, and carried their conquests to a great extent. At a remote period of antiquity, they subdued most of the countries on the south side of the Danube, from the Alps to the Euxine; and after having ravaged several parts of Greece, passed over into Asia minor, and established a colony in the district, which derived from these conquerors the name of Galatia, or Gallo-Grecia. The northern parts of Italy, lately comprehending Savoy, Piedmont, the Milanese,

* Cæsar exhibits a striking view of the factious spirit of the Gauls Comment. lib. 6. cap. 11 & 12.

the Venetian territories, &c. which now costitute the Italian kingdom, formed a part of Gaul until it fell under the dominion of the Romans, to whom it had long been known by the name of Gallia Cisalpina, in contradistinction to Gallia Transalpina, the modern France. About four centuries before the Christian æra, Brennus, a Gallic chief, with a numerous army having rendered himself master of a great part of Italy, took and destroyed the city of Rome, the capitol alone resisting the assaults of the barbarians. From this time the Romans considered the Gauls as their most formidable enemies; and were said by their historians, not to make war against them for glory and conquest, but for the preservation of their own independence and national existence. At last, after a war vigorously carried on during the space of ten years, the whole of Gaul was, by the consummate courage and military skill of Julius Cæsar and his invincible legions, brought under the Roman dominion and constituted one of the most valuable and flourishing provinces of the empire.

During the long period of nearly 500 years, this country remained under the Roman yoke, and its history is intimately blended with that of Rome. In the reign of the Emperor Honorius, the Goths having ravaged Italy, Astolphus their king, brother of the famous Alaric, concluded a peace with the emperor; and, having married the sister of that monarch, established a Gothic kingdom in the southern part called Gallia Narbonensis. The Burgundians about the same time seized on the eastern parts, and the Franks, a German nation inhabiting a district situated between the Rhine, the Weser, and the sea coast, having afterwards invaded and conquered the whole

whole country, conferred on it the modern name of France.

The first king of this nation, whose name history records, is Pharamond.* His reign is placed about A.D. 424; and he is generally considered as one of the chief legislators of the Franks. It does not, however, appear that this prince ever passed the Rhine, or made any inroads into Gaul.† The first irruption of the Franks, is supposed to have been made under the conduct of Clodion his son and successor, who is said to have been twice expelled from the province by Ætius the Roman general. Some, however, assert that in another expedition he made a conquest of Artois and the Cambresis, with Tournay and some of the adjacent districts, and afterwards fixed his residence at Amiens in Picardy. However this may be, it is considered as certain that Merove, his successor, was an ally of the Romans in the celebrated battle fought with Attila, king of the Huns, in the plain of Chalons in Champaigne, when that barbarian conqueror received the memorable defeat which effected his expulsion from Gaul.‡ But although the king of the Franks had on this occasion joined with the Roman general Ætius and Theodoric, sovereign of the Gothic kingdom of Thoulouse, in expelling the common enemy, he soon after turned his arms against his former allies, conquered Picardy, Normandy, and the greatest part of the Isle de France, and towards the east made himself master of the country as far as Mayence. The death of Ætius, the last prop of the falling empire, together with the shattered state of

* Puffendorf, Etats formés en Europe traduction Françoise, 1 p. 258.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

the

the Roman army in Gaul, after the bloody battle fought with Attila, seem to have concurred to facilitate the enterprizes of the Franks; who, from this period making a rapid progress, soon established their monarchy and extended its limits. From this prince, the first race of their kings received the appellation of Merovingians.* He died A.D. 468. Childeric, his son, being expelled from the kingdom, was afterwards re-established; and, having driven out the Britons and the Saxons, who had made inroads into France, seized on Lorraine. This prince died A.D. 481. It is uncertain how far the Franks had extended their conquests in Gaul, or what was the state of their kingdom when Clovis ascended its throne. Puffendorf says, that Childeric had added Paris to his dominions.* It does not, however, appear certain whether the present capital of France was his acquisition or that of Clovis, his son and successor. Curiosity is eager to investigate the origin of nations; and that of the French monarchy claims our notice on account of its early and continued consequence: but the history of its commencement, and the actions of its primitive monarchs are so involved in obscurity, that the President Henault, rather than bewilder himself in a labyrinth of conjectures and contradictions, has chosen to begin his chronological series from Clovis, and fixes the victory of that prince over Syagrius the Roman general, about A.D. 486, as the first important epoch. Clovis afterwards defeated the Alemanni near Cologne, and in all his enterprises was generally successful. His power was first established by his valour; and a variety of circumstances contributed to his aggrandisement. The Gauls, having been harassed

* Introd. a l'Histoire des etats formes en Europe, 12mo. § 2. p. 259.

by

by a multiplicity of tyrants, were weary of the Roman domination, and regarded Clovis as a deliverer. They were strongly attached to Christianity, and he gained their affections by favouring their bishops. His marriage with Clotilda, neice to Gondebaud king of Burgundy, raised their expectations of his conversion; and the pious exhortation of his consort contributed to realize their hopes. The superstitious attachment of the Franks to paganism, however, was to be overcome, before their king could make a public profession of Christianity. And his prudence, which appears to have been equal to his valour, suggested an expedient for overcoming the obstinacy, and influencing the minds of an ignorant people. After his defeat of the Alemanni, he piously or politically ascribed that victory to the God of the Christians, whom he declared he had invoked during the battle, binding himself with a vow to embrace Christianity if crowned with success. This declaration operated so powerfully on the minds of the Franks, that when Clovis was baptised by Remigius, bishop of Rheims, almost the whole nation followed his example.* Clovis now began to extend his conquests. His power was aggrandized, but his conversion had not extinguished his ambition. He attacked the Gothic kingdom of Thoulouse, which was founded by Adolphus, brother of Alaric the plunderer of Rome. The Gallic clergy, who were zealous Catholics, favoured his pretensions to the dominions of the Arian Visigoths; and the battle of Vouglé, in the vicinity of Poitiers, in which their king was slain, annexed to the kingdom of the Franks that of the Visigoths, comprizing all the country between the Pyrenées, the Rhone, and the Loire.†

* Greg. of Tours, lib. 2. c. 31. † Idem. lib. 2, c. 37.

Before the reign of Clovis, the kings of the Franks generally resided at Soissons; but that prince, after the conquest of the kingdom of the Visigoths made Paris the capital of his dominions, about A.D. 508; and carried the Gothic crown, regalia, and treasures from Thoulouse to that city. This first Christian monarch of the French, after a reign of thirty years, the latter part of which he had employed in endeavouring to expiate his crimes, by building and endowing churches and monasteries, died A.D. 511, at the age of forty-five, and was buried in the church of St. Genevieve, at Paris.*

The death of Clovis was scarcely less fatal to the prosperity of the French monarchy, than his life had been conducive to its aggrandizement. His four sons divided among themselves his extensive dominions. Thierry, the eldest, had for his share the territory lying between the Meuse and the Rhine, which was then called Austrasia, and had Metz for its capital. Childebert was king of Paris: Clotaire of Soissons; and Clodomir, of Orleans. The empire of the Franks, being thus divided into four independent kingdoms, soon began to exhibit a scene of barbarian wars and murderous contention; which ended in the union of the whole under Clotaire. But the death of this prince, A.D. 562, occasioned a second partition of the monarchy among his sons, who, like those of Clovis, were four in number; and the experience of the evils resulting from the former division, did not prevent their repetition. These princes divided the four former kingdoms among themselves by lot.† Charibert obtained the kingdom of Paris; Chilperic, that of Soissons; Aus-

* Henault. Abrege Chronol. de l'Hist. de France, vol. 1. p. 5.

† Gesta Francorum, cap. [illegible]

trasia

trasia fell to the lot of Sigebert; and Gontran had the kingdom of Orleans, in which was included Burgundy, which had been conquered by the combined forces of Childebert and Clotaire. All the evils of disunion were again experienced; and the intestine wars, the perfidies and cruelties, of which France had lately been the theatre, were reiterated with the most horrible aggravation. Fredegonda, wife to Chilperic king of Soissons, and Brunehaut, princess of Spain, wife to Sigebert, king of Austrasia, equally famous for their mutual hatred and their influence over their husbands, are names which stand conspicuous in the annals of guilt. These two queens, who sacrificed every thing to their ambition and their revenge, and involved the empire of the Franks in more bloody contentions, than it had ever before experienced.* After many years of civil wars, carried on with the most vindictive spirit and in the most sanguinary manner, the destruction of multitudes of princes of the royal family, left Clotaire II. son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, sole monarch of France. He re-established the public tranquillity, and was the third prince who ruled over the whole united kingdom. But he committed the government of Austrasia and Neustria to the mayors of the palace, whose authority resembling that of viceroys, now began to shew itself in France; and, from that time gradually increasing, at last enabled them to seize the crown. Clotaire II, who had acquired the reputation of being a lover of justice and peace, a name more honourable than that of a conqueror, died A.D. 628, universally regretted by his subjects. He was buried in

* For an arranged detail of these enormities, vide Henault's Chronological Abridgement, vol. 1.

the

the church of St. Germain des prés at Paris, and with him expired all the glory of the Merovengian race. The succeeding princes of that dynasty were plunged in sensuality, vice, and inactivity. Dagobert, son aud successor of Clotaire, by his vices weakened and debased the royal authority, and burdened the people with taxes to support his debaucheries, or to expiate them by pious profusion. His espousal of three wives, all living at the same time, and the number of his concubines, are evidences of the corruption of his morals; and the bequest of 8000lb. weight of lead to cover the abbey and church of St. Denis, which he had founded, was his last attempt to bribe Heaven for a pardon.* The kingdom, after his death, was divided between his two sons, Sigebert, king of Austrasia, and Clovis II. king of the rest of France. These princes, however, had only a nominal authority and the regal power was now absorbed by that of the mayors of the palace. Of these officers there were two, one in each kingdom; and they soon had the influence and address to render their offices hereditary. Pepin, surnamed the Elder, the first conspicuous ancestor of the family of Charlemagne, had been mayor of the palace under Dagobert, and continued in that post under Sigibert, king of Austrasia. He died A.D. 639, and was succeeded in his office by Grimoald his son. To trace the uninteresting contentions of those unsettled times, in which the intrigues of the mayors of the palace succeeded through the weakness and inactivity of the kings, would be now to little purpose. It suffices, therefore, to observe that Dagobert II. king of Austrasia, having been assassinated, his death ought to have made Thierry III.

* Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 1. p. 25.

king

king of Burgundy and Neustria, monarch of all France; but the people, dreading to fall under the power of Ebroin, mayor of the palace to Thierry, refused to acknowledge the authority of that prince; and Pepin d'Heristal, so called from his chateau or castle, on the banks of the Meuse, in the territory of Liege, assumed the government of that country with the title of duke or viceroy, though he still acknowledged the sovereignty of Thierry.* An open rupture, however, soon took place; and a battle decided the dispute between the real and the nominal sovereign. Thierry was defeated, and Pepin usurped the supreme authority over the whole kingdom, under the title of mayor of the palace, while the former retained only the bare name of king.† This prince was succeeded by his son Clovis III. in whose name, and in those of his successors, Childebert III. and Dagobert III. Pepin continued to reign over France, and subdued several of the frontier provinces which the divisions of the government had encouraged to revolt. Death having deprived him of his two eldest sons, he resolved to perpetuate his authority in his own family, by constituting his grandson Theodobald, an infant, mayor of the palace under the guardianship of his mother. Thus, at Pepin's decease, the sovereign of France saw his power transferred to an infant, and subject to the control of a woman. A revolt of the people was the consequence of so strange a system of government; and the infant Theodobald was divested of his office, which was afterwards conferred on a nobleman named Rainfroy. During these commotions,

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lett. tom. 6.

† Pepin was the founder of the celebrated abbey of Fleury. Hen. Ab. Chronol. vol. 1. p. 30.

the

the famous Charles Martel, natural son of Pepin by a concubine, having been imprisoned by Theodobald's mother, made his escape and took refuge in Austrasia, where the people received him with all the affection which his father's memory inspired, and without hesitation acknowledged him as duke of that country. Chilperic II. having now succeeded Dagobert III. a rupture ensued between him and the new Duke of Austrasia, of which the issue was similar to that of the contest between Pepin and Thierry III. The king was defeated in several engagements, and forced to fly into Aquitaine. Charles, now master of the whole kingdom, instead of assuming the regal title, substituted, in the place of Chilperic, another king known by the name of Clotaire IV; and, on the death of the latter, recalled the former to the throne. Thus Charles, for reasons which cannot at this time be discovered, preferred the less ostentatious title of mayor of the palace to that of monarch of France, Chilperic was succeeded by Thierry IV.; and Charles, reigning in his name, now began to render the arms of France formidable to the neighbouring nations. In the year 732, he marched against the Saracens, who, from Spain, had penetrated into France, and defeated them between Tours and Poitiers with a terrible slaughter. Historians relate that, in this battle, the loss of the Saracens amounted to the incredible number of 300,000. The danger with which France, and even all Christendom, had been menaced, followed by so glorious a deliverence, might give rise to some degree of exaggeration; but it is certain that the action was decisive, the victory of the French complete, and the carnage on the side of the enemy almost unexampled. By this victory, over an enemy that before

had

had been reckoned invincible and then threatened Europe with subjugation, Charles Martel confirmed his power and immortalized his name. The Saracens were soon after totally driven out of France, and from that time gave up all hopes of extending their conquests beyond the Pyrenées.

At the death of Thierry III. Charles instead of nominating a new king reigned under the title of Duke of the French, and being victorious over all his enemies, sat down in peace, his sword having rendered him the arbiter of Europe. He was succeeded by his two sons Carloman and Pepin, the former reigning over Austrasia and the latter over the rest of the kingdom. Pepin, however, put an end to the interregnum by placing Childeric III. on the throne of Burgundy and Nustria. Pepin and Carloman, with their joint force, defeated the Bavarians, the Saxons, the Alemanni and the Sclavonians, as well as the Duke of Aquitaine, who had revolted, and by their union, effectually promoted their own interests, and those of the kingdom. Carloman afterwards resigned his Dukedom of Austrasia and retiring to Rome embraced a monastic life; but Pepin assuming the title as well as the power of king, A. D. 750, caused Childeric to be shut up in a monastery, excluding for ever the descendants of Clovis from the throne of France.

From the reign of Dagobert I. to the exclusion of the Merovingian dynasty, including a period of about a hundred and six years, the government of France exhibited a singular political phœnomenon, a long continued succession of kings, without power and of ministers invested with sovereign authority, constituting two hereditary races, one of nominal, the other of real monarchs. During this long space of time,

time, the talents and activity of the mayors of the palace, form a striking contrast with the imbecility and indolence of the kings; Pepin d' Heristal, Charles Martel, and Pepin his son, who at length assumed the regal title, and was the first of the Carlovingian dynasty, governed France as mayors of the palace, during the space of fifty years and on all occasions displayed equal prudence and fortitude; while the kings neither knowing nor caring what passed in the kingdom, were no more than decorated pageants occasionally shown to the people. Those degenerate descendants of the warlike chiefs of the Franks to indulge their indolence, devolved the whole bnsiness of the government on the mayors of the palace, and these officers indemnified themselves for their laborious attention to public affairs, by usurping the sovereign authority. The descendants of Clovis, like those of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and other Asiatic conquerors, sunk into a state of degeneracy of which the history of Europe has not furnished any parallel instance. The appellation of *faineants,* or sluggards, given them by the French historians, is aptly expressive of their stupid inactivity.

Those dark ages, in which literature was little known, and barbarian force was every where predominant, have left us few documents relative to the general state of society. Historians overlooking the condition of mankind in general, have considered the sanguinary contests of tyrannical chiefs as the only transactions worthy to be recorded. And the antiquary of modern times finds himself lost in tracing the state of arts, sciences and manners in a remote period. In the Gothic ages, immediately succeeding the downfal of the Roman empire, France appears to have possessed at

least

least as great a share of the learning still remaining in Europe as any country on this side of the Adriatic. In the age immediately preceding the subversion of the Roman power, learning flourished in Gaul more than at any former period. Bourdeaux, Thoulouse, Treves and Autun, were the seats of the muses. The Gauls were completely romanized and the Latin was the vulgar language.* The irruption of the Franks into Gaul was less violent, less marked with destruction and carnage than those of the Saxons into England; and their conquests of the country was effected in a shorter space of time, and with less difficulty and bloodshed than that of Italy by the Goths. One particular circumstance is also to be observed, which must have considerably tended to prevent that total extinction of learning in Gaul, which took place in some other countries: The Gallic clergy, who in all probability were as learned as any in the western church, favoured the designs of Clovis, and he always acted in concert with the bishops, whose influence in no small degree facilitated his conquests. The Roman forces endeavoured to maintain their standing; but the Gauls appear to have tamely expected the event. And it does not appear that the people were ever so severely oppressed by the Franks, as those of most other countries were by their barbarian conquerors. From a consideration of these various circumstances therefore it appears that neither religion, learning nor civil society received so great a shock from the irruption of the Franks into Gaul as from those of other barbarous nations into the other provinces of the western Empire. Upon the whole it appears that the age of Clovis and his immediate successors was more learned than those

* Histoire literaire de France.

which afterwards followed, and that the frequent divisions of the Empire of the Franks, and their turbulent consequences were more hostile to literature and science than their first conquest of the country: for the French writers have remarked that from the age of Clovis to that of Charlemagne learning was constantly on the decline.*

The commerce of France under the first dynasty, like that of all other nations, in the early ages, is a subject but little illustrated by the ancient, and difficult to be investigated by modern Historians. That under the Roman dominion Marseilles, and other towns on the Mediterranean, had a trade which in those ages might be deemed considerable, is a circumstance which cannot admit of a doubt. Gaul was a flourishing province, and always regarded as one of the most important and valuable appendages of the Empire. It contained a number of Roman colonies: magnificent remains yet attest the grandeur of some of its cities, and splendour creates a presumption of the existence of commerce. The towns on the Mediterranean, were very advantageously situated for carrying on a trade with the best parts of the Roman empire, and also with its vast metropolis, from which they were at a moderate distance. After the establishment of the Franks, the Levant trade was opened to them by their negotiations with the emperors of Constantinople; and to this commerce the President Henault principally ascribes the riches displayed under the successors of Clovis. These riches indeed appear astonishing, if we give implicit credit to the historians of that age, who inform us that St. Eloy, bishop of Noyon, and treasurer to Dagobert I, being in the

* Histoire literaire de France, ubi supra.

former part of his life an opulent goldsmith used to wear a belt set with diamonds when he came to court in the preceding reign; also that he made for Clotharius II, a chair of massive gold and for Dagobert, a throne of the same metal. Without insisting on the possibility of exaggeration or mistake, it may not be amiss to observe that what historians relate of the extraordinary display of riches in remote ages and among nations half civilized, altho' on a superficial view of things it may appear incredible, will on a more accurate investigation be found strictly within the verge of probability. It is here necessary to refer to an observation already made,* that wealth being in those times in the hands of only a few, and not as at present circulated by an active and flourishing trade, whatever historians tell us concerning the luxury and spendour of ancient times, must be considered as relating only to a few princes, or opulent grandees, and that in such a state of society as Europe presented, before the extention of commerce had excited the industry and ameliorated the condition of the inferior classes of the community, the magnificence of the great, was not a sure criterion of the wealth of the people. France, however, had at this early period possessed various other means of amassing a considerable quantity of wealth besides those of commerce. The establishment of so many Roman colonies, would infallibly introduce into Gaul some portion of that wealth, of which Rome had plundered more opulent countries. And the riches which Clovis carried from Thoulouse, after the conquest of that kingdom, leave no room to

* Vide Remarks on the State of Society in England under Henry 2d. and Edward 3d.

doubt

doubt that the Visigoths had brought thither a considerable portion of the spoils of Italy.

The laws of the French under the first race of their kings, are involved in the same obscurity as the rest of their social system. Under the Roman government Roman laws and manners had been introduced into Gaul; and the country was become entirely Roman. The original laws of the Franks, by whatever peculiarities they might be distinguished, bore in their principal features a strong resemblance to those of the other nations, who established their dominion on the ruins, of the Roman empire. They were all of the same original stock, and had the same leading character. They lived under the same climate, and were nearly all in the same stage of civilization. From these circumstances, a similarity of manners, customs, and general opinions prevailed among them, and at a much earlier period a similar degree of conformity in the government, manners, and social state of the Gauls, Germans, and Scandinavians*

The primitive ideas of men are formed solely from physical circustances. The progress of civilization is that alone which extinguishes, modifies, or changes manners, customs, general ideas and habits of life, accommodates political and legislative systems to the various exigences of improved society, and is the source of all moral distinctions. Among savage nations, therefore, few characteristic differences are perceptible; and among those which are only half civilized, the leading features of social life bear a strong resemblance. The different Gothic and German nations were equally remarkable for their love

* Compare Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. 6. with Tacit. de morib. Germanorum, chap. 46.

of

of liberty and of war. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general or chieftain, by the Roman writers commonly dignified with the title of king, whose authority was almost entirely limited to military affairs. National concerns, were debated in their general councils which have already been mentioned.* Their armies were composed of volunteers, who followed their chief without pay in quest of plunder, or in search of new settlements. Whether any other modes of levying troops were used, in conformity to the feudal system which they established in their new conquests, seems a matter of uncertainty. Cæsar and Tacitus represent the Gallic and German soldiers entirely as volunteers accompanying their chief, from inclination and not from compulsion. But if the commander could not order them to march, his authority was undoubtedly great after they had taken the field. And whether any power resided in the great national councils to order and enforce compulsory levies, or whether such measures were ever found necessary, is a subject with which the Roman writers perhaps were not fully acquainted. The political constitution of barbarous nations being not systematically defined, but arbitrarily accommodated to present exigences, it is difficult to investigate with any degree of accuracy. They considered their conquests as common property, in which all had a right to share, as all had contributed to the acquisition. The distribution was made by lot, but what circumstances might influence its regulation is a matter which at this time cannot be ascertained. Their conquests in the Roman provinces shew that the division was very unequal. Military rank and distinction seem

* Vide remarks on the Saxons in this work under History of England.

to

to have determined the mode of partition. But the best share was swallowed up by the great officers. It is generally supposed that the lands thus allotted were allodial, entailing no obligation on the possessors.*

At the time when Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, society was among many of the German tribes in its rudest state.† They neglected agriculture, and like the ancient Scythians, and their descendants, the modern Tartars, subsisted by hunting and pastorage.‡ From the period in which Cæsar wrote, to the time when Tacitus composed his Treatise de mor. German. a hundred years had elapsed, a space of time, which operates a considerable change in national manners, especially in those of a rude people that has much communication with civilized states. During the interval between Cæsar and Tacitus, the German tribes near the frontiers had a considerable intercourse with the Romans, and accordingly we find that some of them, especially the Suiones, were much improved, while many of the others remained in the same rude state of society, little superior to that which exists among the savage tribes of North America.§

Among the ancient Germans, every individual was at liberty to choose whether he would engage in any military enterprize, no obligation being imposed by public authority. When an expedition was proposed by any of their chiefs, such as approved of the cause, and the leader, rose up and declared their intention of following him; and those who did not perform this voluntary engagement, were considered as traitors

* Du Cange Gloss. voc. Allod.

† Cæsar, lib. vi. cap. 21. ‡ Ibid.

§ Tacit de mor. German. cap. 44.—P. Charlevoix Jour. Historique d'un Voyage dans l'Amerique. Compare these two authors.

and

and deserters, and regarded as infamous.* As every individual was so independent, it was the grand object of the German chiefs to gain adherents, and attach them to their persons and interests. Their principal distinction and power consisted in being attended by a numerous band of these retainers, who constituted their ornament and defence, and whose services being wholly voluntary, were gained and preserved by presents of arms and horses, as well as by profuse entertainments. They had nothing else to bestow on their followers, and in this state we can discover no feature of the feudal system, although these manners seem to have tended to its introduction. When landed property was rendered permanent, the military chief then became a great proprietor, and rewarded his adherents with grants of land, attended with a variety of conditions, and here we have the origin of feudal tenures, and all the obligations of vassalage. In their military expeditions, all the booty, of whatever kind, was divided by lot, according to military rank; their chiefs and their kings could claim nothing, but what fell to their share by this decision.† The conquered lands were thus divided, and every warrior seized the portion that fell to his share as a settlement acquired by his sword, and possessed it as a free man in full property, independent of any superior lord. But as property acquired by conquest was still in danger of being lost by the same means, they saw the necessity of coming under a general obligation of defending the community. This, like most of the other social compacts, seems to have been at first established by tacid consent, and afterwards rendered more explicit by

* Cæsar, lib. 6, cap 21.

† Greg. of Tours. Hist. Francorum, lib. 2, cap. 27.

legal ordinances. In the history of the Franks, this obligation may be traced back to an early period. All were obliged to afford assistance to the state, by personal service, or pecuniary fines. Chilperic, who began his reign A.D. 562, levied those fines on persons who had disobeyed the summons to accompany him in one of his expeditions.* And a law of Charlemagne, enacted A.D. 807, ordains that every freeman possessing five mansi, or sixty acres of land, should be liable to personal service in the field.† It appears, indeed, to have been a primitive idea in politics, that every man, within certain limits of age, was to be considered as a soldier; and obliged, on pressing occasions, to repair to the national standard.

Under whatever conditions the barbarians of the north divided the waste and half cultivated lands which they conquered from neighbouring tribes as barbarous as themselves, as soon as they had settled in the Roman provinces, and obtained valuable acquisitions, which were to be held, not only against the ancient possessors but likewise against new invaders, they soon perceived the necessity of close union, and of a systematic arrangement of military force. The general, under whose banners they had achieved the conquest, was considered as the head of the colony, and had the greatest share of the conquered territory, while the rest being divided according to the different degrees of military rank, every officer or soldier received his share, under the condition of appearing in arms whenever the common cause might render it necessary. This division of property and its conditions, gave rise to the feudal system, a form of government before

* Greg. of Tours, lib. 5, cap. 26.

† Capit. A.D. 807, apud Robertson. Hist. Charles V, vol. 1.

unknown

unknown in the southern countries of Europe. The king, or general, parcelled out his lands, obliging those on whom he bestowed them to attend him in all his military enterprizes, and by this superior allotment, had it in his power to reward past services, or attach to his interests new followers. The nobles followed his example, and annexing the same conditions to their grants of land, enabled themselves to appear like independent sovereigns at the head of their numerous vassals. A feudal kingdom was, in its fundamental principles and original formation, nothing more than a military establishment. A victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had conquered, continued arranged under its proper officers, who were bound to hold themselves in readiness to assemble, and act whenever occasion should require their united operation. This arrangement, however, apparently so regular, wanted a due subordination, and was often dissolved into anarchy. Antiquaries and historians are doubtful whether the feudal system was in use among the northern nations, previous to their irruption into the empire, or whether it was an expedient then devised for the security of their new possessions. The unanimous agreement of all those conquerors, in establishing this kind of government in the different countries which they conquered, however, affords a strong presumption that something of the kind prevailed among them, even in their ancient territories. It is certain, that agriculture was practised, and lands appropriated among some of the German and Gothic tribes, before their conquest of the Roman provinces. And from the sketch here given of the natural progress of barbarian society, it appears highly probable that the first outlines of the

 feudal

feudal system had been formed among the nations to the north of the Danube, at the same time that the appropriation of lands took place; although, like other political institutions, it acquired a more regular form as they advanced in civilization.*

Under the vigorous administration of Charles Martel, and that of Pepin his son, while the latter was only Mayor of the Palace, France had begun to assume an appearance very different from that which it had made since the death of Clovis its founder.† The division of the kingdom so often repeated, had been a source of anarchy hostile to science and literature, to religion and morals, to civil security and political greatness. And the weakness of the kings had still more degraded the throne, till the talents and exertions of these ministers, counteracting the incapacity and indolence of the monarchs, reunited the fragments of the broken monarchy, and restored it to a state of prosperity and grandeur in which it had seldom been seen since the reign of Clovis. The accession of Pepin gave a new lustre to the throne, and under a king equally prudent and brave, France acquired a decided preponderancy in the political scale of that age. Pepin, indeed, although not allied to the family of Clovis, ascended the throne of the Merovingians with every advantage in his favour. He was encouraged by pope Zachary, who, like him-

* The picture of the Germans given by Cæsar and Tacitus, corresponds with what is said of the Goths by the Byzantine writers; and of the Huns and Alans by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 31. We have enlarged on the subject in this place, because the history of France exhibits the progress of the feudal system more distinctly than that of any other nation.

† Pharamond is, by most French historians, called the founder of their monarchy; but Clovis appears to have a better claim to that title.

self,

self, was a man of talents and enterprize. Through his influence, as well as in gratitude for favours received from Pepin, the clergy of France supported his pretensions. The nobles respected him for his bravery, and the people despised the pageant kings whose names were scarcely ever mentioned. It is said that Pepin, undoubtedly acquainted with the sentiments of the Roman pontif, who wanted his assistance against Constantine Copronymus the iconoclast emperor of Constantinople, as well as against the Lombards, proposed to his holiness a case of conscience worthy to be investigated by papal infallibility. The question was, whether a prince incapable of governing, or a minister invested with royal authority, and supporting it with dignity, ought to have the title of king. The interests of the holy see dictated the solution. The Pope decided in favour of the minister, and his decision removed every scruple, if any existed. The king was shut up in a monastery, and the minister was raised to the throne. In order to confer a kind of divine character on royalty, Pepin, in imitation of the Jewish kings, was solemnly crowned and anointed with consecrated oil, a ceremony unknown to his predecessors.* This was performed in the cathedral of Soissons by St. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, the famous apostle of the Germans.

Success attended the policy of the Pope in favouring Pepin's usurpation. Astulphus, king of the Lombards, had seized on the exarchate of Ravenna, which had hitherto been subject to the eastern empire.

* Some authors say that Clovis was crowned and anointed at Rheims; but the president, Henault, expressly says, that Pepin was the first king of France on whom that ceremony was performed. Ab. Chron, vol. 1, p. 44.

After this success he laid claim to Rome, and marched his army toward that city. Stephen III, then Pope, alarmed at his approach, tried to negotiate, and sent him a solemn embassy. But prayers and presents were ineffectual; the king of the Lombards resolved to reign in Rome.

Convinced that force must be repelled by force, Stephen went in person to Paris to implore the assistance of the monarch of France. Pepin marched twice across the Alps, recovered the exarchate, and conferred it on the Pope. Thus he repaid the papal favour with interest, and laid the foundation of the temporal power of the see of Rome. Stephen, not to be wanting in gratitude, anointed him again with the holy unction, and also his two sons Carloman and Charles, constituting each of them patrician of Rome. But the successes of Pepin in Italy, were not the only glories of his reign. He was victorious over the Saxons, the Sclavonians, the Bavarians, and the Duke of Aquitaine, whose duchy he annexed to the crown of France, of which it had been formerly held as a fief. Having equally aggrandized his power and his fame, and acquired the respect both of his subjects and his neighbours, he died A.D. 768, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, which had been uniformly glorious and successful. He never affected absolute power, but referred all affairs of importance to the national assemblies, of which he was the oracle, being not less distinguished by his prudence in counsel, than by his intrepidity in action.

It may not be amiss to observe, that the first organ ever seen in France, or probably in any of the western countries, was sent, in the year 757, as a present to Pepin

Pepin from Constantine Copronymus, Emperor of Constantinople.

The two sons of Pepin, Carloman and Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne, succeeded their father. The dispositions of those two princes were totally different; the former was gloomy and suspicious, the latter open and generous. France had every thing to fear from the opposition of their tempers, and the collision of their interests. But the death of Carloman, which happened soon after that of his father, secured the public tranquillity, by leaving Charles sole master of the kingdom. The ambitious and enterprising genius of this prince now began to form projects, of which the successful execution has rendered his name immortal: his reign introduced a new æra, and operated an important revolution in the political system of Europe. His first military expedition was against the Saxons, whom he defeated near Paderborn, and plundered their famous temple, in which the idol Irminsul was worshipped. The conquest of the kingdom of the Lombards was his next achievement. Desiderius then swayed the sceptre of Lombardy. Charles and Carloman had married the two daughters of that prince, and the latter had left two sons by his wife; but Charles had divorced his consort, and espoused Ildegarda, a princess of Swabia. Bertha, the widow of Carloman, apprehensive for the safety of herself and her children, after the death of her husband, fled to her father, and put herself and her two sons under his protection. Desiderius, who was extremely incensed against Charles for divorcing his other daughter, received them with kindness, and solicited Pope Adrian I. to crown and anoint the young princes as successors to

 Carloman.

Carloman. The pope, however, fearful of incurring the displeasure of Charles, durst not comply with this request; and Desiderius, exasperated at his refusal, having ravaged the papal territory, prepared to lay siege to Rome. In this emergency Adrian had recourse to France, implored the assistance of Charlemagne, and invited him to the conquest of Italy. The French monarch, with whose views the proposal perfectly agreed, received the pope's invitation with pleasure. He immediately concluded a treaty with the Saxons, and collected such a force as shewed that its object could be nothing less than the conquest of Lombardy. Desiderius, apprised of these formidable preparations, detached several bodies of troops to guard the passes of the Alps. But Charlemagne being informed of this precaution of the enemy, sent a detachment under the direction of experienced guides; which, crossing the mountains by a different route, fell unexpectedly on the Lombards that guarded the defiles. The enemy, being thus surprised, fled in the utmost confusion. Charles now entered Italy without opposition; while the king of the Lombards, unable to keep the field, retired to Pavia, his capital. Charlemagne, with his whole army, immediately invested that city; but the vigorous defence which it made obliged him to convert the siege into a blockade. He then marched with a part of his forces against Verona; which, after a desperate resistance, was compelled to surrender. The siege of Pavia was then recommenced, and carried on with redoubled vigour until Easter, when Charles, committing the conduct of it to Bertrand, his uncle, went to keep that festival at Rome, where he was received in the most pompous manner by the pope, the magistrates, and the clergy. Having remained

remained some time in that city, amidst reiterated applauses and accumulated honours, he confirmed the donations which Pepin, his father, had made to St. Peter, and returned to the camp before Pavia. The Lombards continued to defend their capital with desperate valour, till the horrors of pestilence, added to the calamities of war, compelled them at length to surrender. The unfortunate Desiderius, with his queen and his children, as well as his daughter Bertha, Carloman's widow, and her sons, who had been taken at Verona, all fell into the hands of the conqueror, and were sent into France. How they were afterwards disposed of is uncertain, as history is silent concerning their fate. Charles now claiming the dominions of Desiderius by right of conquest, was crowned King of Italy, A.D. 774, with the iron crown of the Lombard princes.*

The next step of the conqueror was to settle the government of his new kingdom. After consulting the pope on this important subject, he prudently permitted the people to live under their former laws, and ratified all the existing establishments. He committed the borders, or marches of his newly acquired territories, to the care of counts, who were called Counts of the Marches, from whom the title of Marquis derives its origin. He also occasionally sent commissaries to examine into the conduct of these officers, and to administer justice throughout his dominions. National affairs of importance were settled in the general assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom.

Every thing being regulated in Lombardy, Charlemagne immediately turned his arms against the Sax-

* Eginhart, in Vit. Caroli Magni.

ons,

ons, who had violated the former treaty, and massacred a body of French troops.* Marching rapidly from Italy into Germany, he defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to sue for peace. Almost every year of his reign was marked by some military expedition, and signalized by some important success. Italy and Germany were not the only countries that experienced the irresistible force of his arms. In the year 778, he undertook an expedition into Spain at the solicitation of the Moorish governors of Saragossa and Arragon; who, having revolted against Abdurrahman, King of Cordova, had implored the assistance of the French monarch, offering to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Charlemagne accepted, with pleasure, the proposal which furnished him a pretext for extending his sway beyond the Pyrenées. Entering Spain with all possible expedition, he took Pampeluna and Saragossa, re-established the Moorish governors, and received the homage of the princes, whose territories were situated between the Pyrenées and the river Ebro. But in repassing the mountains, his rear-guard was surprized and defeated by Lupus, Duke of Gascogne, in the valley of Roncevaux. Here fell the famous Roland, so much celebrated in romance.† Soon afterwards he made a kind of triumphal march through Italy to Rome, where the pope anointed and crowned his two sons, Pepin and Louis, who accompanied him, kings of Lombardy and Aquitaine. The affairs of Germany, in the next place, called for his attention, where a general revolt of the Saxons, who had already routed the French army at Sintal, rendered his presence necessary. A detailed narrative of those wars with that barbarous but brave and independent people, which, with occasional intervals, lasted above

* Henault's Ab. Chron. vol. 1, an. 755. † Ibid. an. 783, &c.

thirty

thirty years, would, at this day, be uninteresting; and time has almost buried the long series of battles, massacres, and cruelties, in oblivion. The last grand effort of this warlike people, who then occupied the greatest part of the north of Germany, was made under the conduct of the celebrated Witikind, one of the most eminent of their generals. But their desperate valour was not an equal match for the superior discipline and military skill of the troops of France; and their revolt proved fatally unsuccessful. If, as Eginhart states, Charlemagne ordered 4,500 of their principal men to be massacred for having refused to deliver up their general, a parallel instance of severity is scarcely to be met with in the history of mankind. After many battles fought with desperate obstinacy, numberless cruelties committed, and oceans of blood spilt on both sides, the Saxons were at last completely subjected, and Germany became a part of the empire of Charlemagne. A furious zeal for religion, joined to an insatiable lust of dominion, actuated all his conduct; and the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, seems to have been a principal object of his ambition. With indefatigable labour and perseverance, and a prodigious effusion of blood, he at length gained his point. Witikind, the famous Saxon leader, embraced Christianity; and his great mind, despising hypocrisy, all his subsequent conduct exhibited convincing proofs of the sincerity of his conversion. But he could not inspire his associates with similar sentiments. The most resolute and daring spirits, on the final reduction of their country, preferring expatriation to subjection, retired into Scandinavia, where great numbers of them, and of their descendants, actuated by the most vindictive hatred against the dominion and religion of the conqueror,

became

became the instigators and associates of the Danes and the Normans in their predatory expeditions, which about that time began to be formidable to all the maritime countries of Europe.

The zeal of Charlemagne for religion, and his ambitious desire of being considered as protector and head of the church, sometimes engaged him in theological disputes unworthy of his character, and betrayed him into ridiculous and arrogant pretensions. Two Spanish bishops having revived the doctrine of Nestorius, the council of Frankfort, one of the most famous ever held in the west, was convened, A.D. 794, for the purpose of examining their tenets.* Charlemagne opened the assembly himself, and proposed the condemnation of that heresy. The bishops, as might be expected, decided according to his will; and in consequence of that decision, he expresses himself, in a letter to the churches of Spain, in these terms: "You intreat me to judge: I have done so: I have assisted as an auditor and an arbiter in an assembly of bishops: we have examined, and, by the grace of God, have settled what ought to be believed." No Roman Pontif, brimful of infallibility, ever made use of more positive language. In this council was also decided the curious and interesting affair of the propriety of paying a kind of veneration to images of saints, and other holy personages.

The Greek Emperor, Leo IV. had banished his wife Irené for her attachment to image worship. This ambitious princess being intrusted with the regency, during the minority of her son Constantine, assembled the second council of Nice, which decided in favour of the doctrine supported by the empress; and it was accordingly decreed, that images ought to be retained

* Henault Ab. Chron. tom. 1, an. 794.

in churches, and venerated with an honorary respect, but that real adoration is due to God alone. Unfortunately the translation of the acts of this council, was so defective as entirely to pervert the meaning of the article relating to images, which, in consequence of this mistake, was considered as giving a sanction to downright idolatry. Charlemagne, and the bishops, therefore, rejected the council of Nice, and presented a memorial to Adrian I. in which the king loaded that council with invectives, accused it of idolatry, and declared his abhorrence of its impiety. The Pope, however, making him sensible of the mistake that had been committed, the difference on that point was settled, and the second council of Nice was declared œcumenical.*

From relgious, he now turned his attention to political and military affairs. The Saxons had been so often subdued, and had so often revolted, that Charlemagne, now finding himself superior to all opposition, resolved to render the subjection of their country complete and perpetual. In this view he took the decisive measure of removing them from Germany and distributing them throughout Flanders, Helvetia, and various other parts of his dominions, where they soon mixed with the mass of the inhabitants. Their country was repeopled by colonies from Sclavonia. By this arrangement he placed his power, in that quarter, almost beyond the control of events, while new conquests were the glory of his declining years. He made himself master of the kingdom of the Avars, formerly that of the Huns, comprising the modern Austria and Hungary. All France and Germany, part of Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy, as far as Benevento, were at the same time

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

able,

under his dominion. His power was now uncontrollable, and his glory was about to reach its meridian. Leo III. had succeeded Adrian I. in the papacy; and, like his predecessors, acknowledged the sovereignty and courted the friendship of the French monarch. In the third year of his pontificate, Campule and Pascal, two nephews of the late Pope, accused him of heinous crimes, attacked him in the public street, and wounded him in several places. Leo was dragged, half dead, into the church of St. Mark, and having, by the assistance of some friends, effected his escape, the Duke of Spoletto, the French general, granted him an escort to conduct him to Charlemagne. That prince received him with every possible mark of respect, sent him back with a numerous retinue of guards and attendants, and soon after followed in person to investigate the affair. Being arrived at Rome, he convoked an assembly of bishops and nobles, to examine the accusation brought forward against the Pontiff, who purged himself by oath, no proof of criminality being adduced. After this extraordinary trial, a singular scene was exhibited, which, notwithstanding the surprise effected by Charlemagne, had undoubtedly been preconcerted between him and the Pope. On Christmas-day, while the king assisted at mass, in the church of St. Peter, the sovereign Pontiff, approaching him, placed an imperial crown on his head. The people immediately began to cry, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God! Long live the great and pious emperor of the Romans!" The Pope then conducted him to a magnificent throne, prepared for the purpose, and presented him with the imperial robe. His title was soon universally acknowledged, and embassies were sent to congratulate him

from

from every quarter. Irené, empress of the East, who had deposed her son Constantine, made him a proposal of marriage; and the treaty is said to have been actually concluded, when Nicephorus, the Patrician, conspired against that ambitious and artful princess, banished her to Lesbos, and usurped the imperial throne of Constantinople. Nicephorus, also fearing the power of Charles, immediately sent an embassy to salute him with the title of emperor and Augustus; and the limits of the two empires were settled by treaty.* But the fame of Charlemagne was not confined within the limits of Europe: it extended also into Asia. The celebrated Harun-al-Raschid, the most illustrious of the Arabian Caliphs, corresponded with him, and cultivated his friendship. In viewing the progress of the arts, it is worthy of observation, that among the presents, which Al-Raschid sent by his ambassadors to this monarch, was a striking clock, the first ever seen in France, or in any part of Charlemagne's empire. This Caliph also complimented the emperor of the West, with the cession of the holy places in the city of Jerusalem, to which pilgrimages had already become fashionable among Christians.

The sagacity and foresight of Charlemagne had hitherto been conspicuous in all his undertakings; and in all his conduct means appeared to be adapted to ends, with singular justness of conception. But, although he must be considered as the greatest political as well as military genius of his age, it is somewhat astonishing that he stumbled on that grand solecism in government, the division of empire, of which history had so often recorded and his predecessors so frequently experienced the fatal effects.

* Eginhart Vit. Carol. magni. Henault Ab. Chron. tom. 1, an. 803.

With the examples of the fatal partition of Alexander's empire, of those of Constantine and Theodosius, and the still more recent and proximate instances of the repeated divisions of the kingdom of the Franks, and their baleful consequences, before his eyes; this great statesman and conqueror fell into the same political error. In a grand assembly of the nobles and bishops, he made a testamentary division of his dominions among his three sons, Lewis, Pepin, and Charles. The two former, as already observed, had, some time before, been crowned king's of Aquitaine and Italy, but still acted in subordination to their father. This partition, however, was productive of no remarkable consequences, as Pepin and Charles died, before the demise of their father had realized his testamentary donation. It may, however, be observed, that Italy being assigned to Pepin, the donation was confirmed to his son Bernard, with the title of king, which proved the ruin of that unfortunate prince.

Charles, now victorious in every quarter, illustrious in power and fame, and master of the greatest part of the continent of Europe, found himself menaced by a new and formidable enemy, the most dangerous that he had ever encountered. The inhabitants of Scandinavia began, about the commencement of the ninth century, to make themselves known, by their piratical descents on the coasts of France and England. On the continent, these ferocious invaders were, from their northerly situation, indiscriminately called Normans: in England they were known by the name of Danes, and by that of Easterlings in Ireland. Charlemagne foresaw, with concern, the ravages they were likely to commit, and studied the most efficacious means of prevention. He visited his harbours, constructed

structed a powerful marine, and appointed fit stations for his vessels, on all the coasts of his extensive dominions. Boulogne was one of the principal of these stations; and the emperor repaired the ancient Pharos of that port, which the hand of time had destroyed. The feudal levies were ordered for the marine, as well as the land service; and the nobles were obliged to appear with their vassals on board of the fleets, as well as in the armies. Nothing, in fine, was omitted, that could promise security to the maritime parts of the empire. In spite, however, of all these precautions, they not only continued to harrass the coasts, but in the year 808 made a formal descent in Friezland, under Godfrey, one of the bravest of their princes. Charlemagne assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and was preparing for a decisive engagement; the issue of a contest, with so desperate an enemy, was very uncertain; but the decision was unexpectedly prevented by the death of the Norman prince, who was assassinated by one of his followers. In consequence of this event his forces were reimbarked, and a peace was concluded with his successor.* The emperor and the empire were thus providentially delivered from a dangerous and desperate invader.

Heaven had distinguished this monarch with the most signal favours, and embellished his reign with the most glorious successes; but no earthly happiness is without some alloy; and his domestic misfortunes now began to balance the prosperity of his public career. Death deprived him of his favorite daughter Rotrude, and of his two sons, Pepin and Charles. Soon after their decease, he made his third son, Louis, his

* Eginhart Vit. Caroli magni.

colleague in the empire, A.D. 813. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with great solemnity. The emperor placed the imperial crown on the altar, and ordered the prince to lift it up and set it on his own head, expressly intimating that he held it only of God. Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 814, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. With him the glory of the French empire rose, and with him it expired.

The character of Charlemagne is not less worthy of attention, than the events of his reign. Though engaged in almost continual wars, he was far from neglecting the arts of peace and the cultivation of his mind. He had set hours for study, which he seldom omitted either in the camp or the court. He was fond of the company and conversation of learned men, drew them, by liberal encouragement, to his court, from all parts of Europe, and formed in his palace a kind of academy, of which he was himself a member. Among these illustrious luminaries of a dark and illiterate age, who contributed to adorn the court and enlighten the mind of Charlemagne, Britain may boast the learned Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon divine. He instructed the emperor in letters and science, and was at the head of the imperial academy.* Three rich abbeys were the reward of his learning and talents, an accumulation which might seem to border on profusion; but in that age of darkness, no encouragement could be too great for those who illuminated the human mind. The exertions of Charlemagne, for the revival of learning, were not confined

* Alcuin was a poet, an orator, an historian, a philosopher, a mathematician, and a divine. His works were published at Paris, A.D. 1617. And. vol. 1, p. 60.

within

within the precincts of his palace. He established schools, in the cathedrals and principal abbeys, for writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church music, sciences, which might justly be considered as important, in an age when many dignified ecclesiastics were unable to write their names. By the advice and assistance of Alcuin, and the other learned men of his court, this emperor founded the universities of Paris, Tours, Thoulouse, and several others in different parts of his dominions.*

The efforts of Charlemagne, for the advancement of commerce, were not inferior to those which he made for the revival of learning. Besides causing public roads to be made or repaired, and bridges to be built where necessary, he projected a great canal, for the purpose of opening a communication between the German Ocean and the Euxine Sea, by uniting the Rhine with the Danube.† This canal was begun on a grand scale, being not less than 300 feet in width; but from the boggy nature of the ground, the rains of the autumnal season, and the ignorance of the engineers, unacquainted with the machines which modern art has constructed, it failed in the execution.‡ The greatness of the conception and the honour of the attempt, however, were above the power of contingences, and shew the extensive views of the projector. He founded, fortified, and embellished a number of cities. By re-building many of those of Italy, which, in consequence of predatory or

* This is the generally received opinion; but Henault says, that the university of Paris was not founded before the reign of Louis VII. Ab. Chron. vol. 1, p. 170.

† Eginhart, Vit. Caroli magni.

‡ Howel's Hist. World, vol. 2, ch. 1.

intestine wars; were in a state of dilapidation and decay, he first inspired that spirit of commerce, for which they became, in aftertimes, so celebrated. Among these were Genoa, which had been successively destroyed by the Saracens and the Lombards; and also Florence which had lain more than 200 years in ruins. In Germany he built Aix-la-chapelle, in the most magnificent style of that age, and made it his usual residence; and the famous commercial city of Hamburgh owes to Charlemagne, if not its origin; at least its first rise from obscurity. Before the conquest of Germany, by that prince, it contained only a few huts. He fortified it with a castle, and made it an episcopal see, from whence missionaries were afterwards sent out into all the regions of the north. The building of Hanover is also said to have been coeval with that of Hamburgh. The establishment of Christianity, and particularly of a number of bishops' sees in Germany, as it introduced a new set of people, customs, and manners, so it also considerably enlarged those cities in which the cathedral churches, and the houses of the bishops and clergy were erected. Many of the fortified and commercial towns in the north-west part of Germany owe their origin, or at least their importance, directly or indirectly, to this emperor:† and posterity must do him the justice to rank him among the small number of conquerors, who did not merely desolate the earth.

In viewing his actions we cannot deny him the praise of a consummate statesman. His views were extensive. His projects were vast; but he used the

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 68.

† Most the rest were founded by Henry the Fowler, And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 90.

fittest

fittest means for carrying them into execution; and his enterprises were almost always successful. His rigorous treatment of the Saxons, may, in a more humanized age, appear impolitic; but it must be considered that the subjugation of that barbarous and warlike people could not be effected by more lenient means. If Saxony was to be conquered and the conquest secured, the iron hand of stern severity alone could accomplish the work. Various cruelties, it is true, stand on record against this Emperor: such indeed, is the general reproach of great politicians and conquerors, with whose schemes of aggrandizement lenity is too often incompatible; and his severity was always consistent with his political views. Independently of these he was generous and humane. In the government of his extensive dominions, he sought to unite his own glory with the welfare of his subjects, and neglected no means of qualifying himself for so important a task. Government, manners, religion and letters were his constant study. He frequently convened the general assemblies of the clergy and nobles for regulating affairs, both in church and state. His attention extended to the most distant corners of the empire, and to all ranks of his subjects. Knowing the general attachment of mankind to old customs, and to that mode of government under which they have lived from their youth, he permitted the inhabitants of the conquered countries to retain their own laws, so far as they were compatible with the Christian religion and the public welfare. As a proof of his benevolence as well as his policy, he was attentive to the interests of the lower orders of the people, in an age when they were universally in a state of oppression, and scarcely thought entitled to the common sym-

 pathies

pathies of humanity. He appears never to have deviated from the maxims of sound policy, except in the single instance of his testamentary division of the empire; and seldom from the rules of humanity except in his persecuting zeal for religion.

The theological side of Charlemagne's character, certainly was not the brightest. An inviolable attachment to the see of Rome was intermingled with his politics. The Popes had already acquired a very great sway in the Christian world; and the honours, and advantages which he and his father had received from their hands, or derived from their influence, might render his adherence to the papal interests excuseable, on the score of gratitude as well as of policy. Besides, it must be observed, that the Popes had scarcely begun those usurpations which afterwards rendered them so terrible, and which Charles could not possibly foresee. But no excuse can be found for that destructive zeal, which prompted him to propagate Christianity by fire and sword, extinguished his natural feelings and made him guilty of severities shocking to humanity. He might very justly consider the establishment of the mild and philantropic religion of Christ, as the best means of civilizing a barbarous people; but for its propagation he ought to have adopted means more congenial with its benevolent principles.

A mistaken zeal for religion, mixed with a decisive system of politics and ambitious views of aggrandizement, gave rise to those severities which the Gospel condemns and human nature abhors. In private life his manners were not less amiable than his public character was illustrious. He was an affeetionate father, a kind husband and a generous friend. Frugal and temperate, his only excess was in the pleasures of

the sex, in which he indulged to an extravagant degree. His house was a model of economy, and his dress of simplicity, except on particular occasions, which required a display of imperial grandeur.

In delineating the character of a celebrated conqueror, a display of his military qualifications is naturally expected. The generalship of Charlemagne, however, like that of Alexander, is not easily brought to the standard of just estimation. His victories were numerous, brilliant and decisive, his conquests extensive, and his successes almost uninterrupted; but like the Macedonian conqueror of Persia, the fortune of war never brought him into contest with an enemy, whose troops were equal in discipline and military skill to those which he commanded; and therefore we have no criterion, whereby we can form a just estimate of his abilities as a general. His natural qualifications, however, both corporeal and mental, afford, in this respect, a strong presumption in his favor. His form was exceedingly athletic, his constitution robust, and his stature almost gigantic. He was the tallest and strongest man any where known in that age; and the activity of his disposition was equal to the strength of his frame. He used to travel with the greatest celerity from the Pyrenées into Germany, and from thence into Italy. His life was a continual scene of corporeal or mental activity and the vigour of his body corresponded with the energy of his mind. These circumstances, collectively considered, will authorize this conclusion, that although Charlemagne never had to contend with any forces equal in tactical skill to his own, an attentive mind and varied experience must have rendered him a complete master of the art of war, so far as it was understood in that age. To sum up

and appreciate the character of this extraordinary man, it is requisite to observe that he was the first prince, who, after the subversion of the Roman empire, made any attempts for the revival of learning and the advancement of commerce and civilization in the west of Europe; that although in an age of universal darkness and ignorance, the efforts of one man could make little progress towards those desireable ends, he first gave an impulse, which never after wholly ceased to operate, and that his establishments eventually contributed, perhaps in a greater degree than is generally imagined, to the civilization of this quarter of the globe.* Born in a dark and ignorant age he was not free from its prejudices; but his liberal, great and comprehensive mind, which examined every thing, would, with a proper education, have done honour to the most enlightened period.

The reign of Charlemagne, distinguished by the exaltation of the see of Rome, the foundation of the western empire, the conquest and conversion of Germany, the foundation of a great number of cities, universities, and bishopricks, and in fine for the establishment of a new political system in Europe, merits the space which it occupies in the page of history. But the annals of his empire, for some centuries after his death, are little more than a catalogue of crimes and calamities, a display of the weakness and incapacity of his successors, and a register of human misfortunes. So vast a political fabric as that erected by Charlemagne, composed of such loose materials as the feudal

* Charlemagne gave the names now used with little variation all over Europe to the twelve months in the year, and the four cardinal points. The other points of the compass received their names from the Flemings at a later period. And Hist. com. 1—61, on the author of Helvicus.

system

system afforded, required the superintending vigilance of a monarch endowed with his genius and spirit.

Louis le Debonnaire, his son and successor, although a prince of some abilities, was unable to support so vast a weight of empire. He wanted his father's decision of character, and without that the mildness of his manners, however amiable, tended to weaken his authority. Not considering that true religion consists in fulfilling the duties of those stations which Providence assigns to individuals, and that the practices of the cloister form an improper association with the functions of the monarch, his mistaken piety led him into many political errors. Employing himself too much in the affairs of the church, and too little in those of the state, he incurred the hatred of the clergy, and lost the esteem of the laity. Charlemagne's apparent zeal for religion, augmented his power; but the ill-judged devotion of Louis, degraded his authority. His piety prompted him to interfere with the functions of the clergy; but he did not foresee that this powerful body would not shew the same submission to him, which they had yielded to the superior capacity and decided character of his father. But his greatest political error was that, of which the bad consequences had, since the establishment of the French monarchy, been so often experienced. Paternal affection induced him, soon after his accession, not only to associate his son Lotharius with himself in the empire, but also to create Pepin king of Aquitaine, and Louis king of Bavaria, who immediately after their coronation departed to their respective kingdoms.* Bernard, his nephew, was already king of Italy. Thus, within three years after the death of

* Henault, Ab. Chron. an. 817.

Charlemagne, was his extensive empire split in pieces, and divided among the different branches of his posterity. It is observed, that in this partition every free man, or person not subject to any lord, was permitted to declare himself the vassal of any one of the three kings, according to his own choice, a circumstance which shews that there were allodial lands at that time in France.*

The different contemporary monarchs of the race of Charlemagne, however nearly allied in consanguinity, soon began to be alienated from one another by discordant interests, and ambitious views. Bernard, king of Italy, took umbrage at the elevation of Lotharius to the imperial dignity, as he himself was also the grandson of Charlemagne, and his father Pepin, the elder brother of Louis. The archbishops of Milan and Cremona favoured his cause, and he had recourse to arms in support of his pretensions. His uncle Louis marched against him. The king of Italy being abandoned by his troops, was taken prisoner; and the emperor his uncle, acting in a manner very inconsistent with the general representation of his character, ordered his eyes to be put out. The unfortunate prince died soon after the operation. This act of inhuman barbarity, which shews that Louis could occasionally equal the greatest tyrants in cruelty, would excite a suspicion that his piety and meekness were rather the effects of superstition and pusillanimity, than of genuine religion. After this rigour toward his nephew the king of Italy, he caused three natural sons of Charlemagne to be shaved and shut up in a cloister. But although capable of committing these barbarities, he was not proof against the re-

* Hen. ubi supra.

proaches

proaches of conscience, and was soon after seized with the keenest remorse. To expiate his guilt, or to conciliate the discontented prelates, whose influence on the minds of the people was all-powerful, he impeached himself in a general assembly, of the murder of his nephew, and of his inhuman cruelty to his brothers, requesting the bishops to enjoin him public penance, which he accordingly performed. This step, if it did not atone for his sins, at least gave great satisfaction to the clergy, who being now fully convinced of his weakness, set no bounds to their usurpations. The Popes thought they might venture at any thing under so pious a prince; they did not wait for the emperor's confirmation of their election, but immediately assumed the tiara. Stephen V. and Pascal I. made the experiment, and their example was imitated by succeeding Pontifs.*

Louis having married a second wife, Judith of Bavaria, a princess not less distinguished by her ambition than her accomplishments, this union proved one of the principal sources of his misfortunes. That princess brought him a son, afterwards known by the name of Charles the Bald. The imperial dominions being already parcelled out among the children of the first marriage, no share was left for the young prince, without taking from the other portions already distributed. By the influence, however, of his mother, who had gained an entire ascendancy over the emperor her husband, Charles obtained Almania, Rhetia, and part of Burgundy, which were dismembered from the dominions of his brothers. These princes, offended at this new division, accused their stepmother of an intrigue of gallantry with Bertrand

* Hen. ab. Chron. an. 817.

Count

Count of Barcelona, and commencing hostilities against their father, stripped him of his dominions, and obliged him and Judith his empress to retire to a monastery.* The nobility, however, now began to pity their humbled sovereign, and by the intrigues of Gombaud the Monk, Louis was restored to his crown, and Lotharius excluded from his share of the imperial dignity.

By the Pope's permission, Louis took his wife out of the convent, where she had been compelled to take the veil; and for her honour as well as his own, obliged her to exculpate herself, both by oath and by fire ordeal, of the crimes laid to her charge.

The three brothers, however, soon recommenced the war against their father. Gregory IV, then Pope, who is said to have espoused their cause, accompanied their army, glad of any opportunity of asserting the supremacy of the holy see. His presence was, in those days of superstition, sufficient to decide the fate of the emperor, who found himself deserted by his army, and at the mercy of his unnatural sons. The unfortunate monarch was immediately deposed, and his son Lotharius proclaimed in his stead. He was in the next place arraigned in the assembly of the states by the archbishop of Rheims, and condemned to do penance for life. In pursuance to this sentence, he was divested of his sword, belt, and imperial robes, clothed in sack-cloth, and confined to a cell. But either the feelings of nature and the voice of humanity, or fraternal dissentions and feudal turbulence, prevailed over the policy of the clergy and the prejudices of the age. Louis was restored, and Lotharius reduced to the necessity of asking pardon of his in-

* Nithard. de dissensionibus filior. Ludovici Pii apud Russel.

jured

jured father, which he received, and was allowed still to reign over Italy. The emperor now finding himself infirm and declining, made, through the influence and intrigues of the empress, a new partition of his dominions. He assigned Italy to Lotharius, Germany to Louis, Aquitaine to Pepin, and to Charles, France and Burgundy. This division gave fresh offence to the three elder brothers, who renewed the war against their father. Pepin died soon after its commencement, A.D. 838, and Louis disinheriting his two sons, annexed Aquitaine to the dominions of Charles.* The nobility of that kingdom, revolting against so flagrant an act of injustice, the emperor marched an army into the country to reduce them to submission. The king of Bavaria taking advantage of this diversion, mustered the whole force of his dominions to invade those of his father, whose misfortunes were now drawing near to their termination. The emperor immediately marched against him, and being already indisposed, an eclipse of the sun, which then happened, struck him with a terror that operated fatally on a mind naturally weak, and enfeebled by superstition, age, and misfortunes. He regarded it as an omen of his approaching dissolution, as if Heaven had taken the trouble to foretel the death of a monarch so unfit to wear a crown. Impressed with this idea, he gave himself up to fasting and prayer, till his piety and melancholy fulfilled the prediction which superstition had suggested.† This unfortunate son and successor of the famous Charlemagne, died near Mentz in the seventy-second year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He

* Hen. Ab. Chron. an. 838.

† Theogon. de gest. Lud. Pii apud Russel.

is

is represented by the French historians as a prince of great learning for that age, and well skilled in astronomy.* His death, however, if occasioned by an eclipse, is very inconsistent with such a character. But the learning of those times was little calculated to dispel superstition, and a weak mind is capable of every absurdity. The piety, or rather the superstition of this prince, contributed greatly to the power of the clergy, and the exaltation of the papal see; and his unprosperous reign, with those of his sons, afford one of the most striking instances recorded in history of the fatal consequences of family contentions.

The extensive and powerful empire of Charlemagne, being now split into several independent kingdoms, and divided among his descendants, exhibits a disgusting picture of their vices, their follies, and their misfortunes. Neither filial nor fraternal affection could restrain their ambition. The sons of Louis le Debonnaire, soon after his decease, turned against one another those arms which they had employed against their father. To trace minutely their dissentions, and detail with circumstantial accuracy their effect, would be little interesting to a modern reader. It suffices to exhibit the leading events and the principal features of those dark and calamitous times, in which fraternal hatred appeared in all its horrors.

Lotharius was no sooner informed of his father's decease; than he considered himself as emperor, in the most extensive sense of the word, and resolved to make himself master of all the imperial dominions. Community of interests and danger, impelled Charles the Bald, king of France and Burgundy, and Lewis

* Hen. Ab. Chron. an. 840.

king

king of Bavaria, to take vigorous measures for their own preservation against his attempts. On both sides powerful armies were levied, and a battle was fought at Fontenai in Burgundy, between the contending brothers.* Few engagements have been so bloody; no less than 100,000 men are said to have fallen in that ensanguined field. Lotharius and his nephew Pepin, who had joined him in order to assert his right to the kingdom of Aquitaine, were totally defeated by Charles and Louis. Pepin fled to Aquitaine, and Lotharius into Italy, leaving France to the victorious army. Some authors relate, that in order to repair the loss of the nobility who perished on that fatal day, it was established, by the custom of Champagne, that the mother should ennoble the children, although the father were a plebeian. The same bloody engagement gave rise also to a law, that the nobility should not be obliged to attend the king in the field, except in case of invasion by a foreign enemy.

Lotharius after his defeat retired into Saxony, and by various political expedients raised a new army. He now appeared so formidable, that his two brothers Charles and Louis, thought it adviseable to negotiate, rather than again try the fortune of war. A treaty was, therefore, concluded, by which Lotharius was left in possession of the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy, together with Provence, Franche Compté, the Lyonnois, and all the other countries inclosed by the Rhine, the Meuse, the Rhone, and the Alps. Charles retained Neustria and Aquitaine, or the whole of western France, extending from the Meuse and the Scheldt to the Pyrenées; and Louis had all that part of the empire which was situated on

* Hen. Ab. Chron. an. 841.

the

the east side of the Rhine.* Fraternal discord and civil wars were not the only evil with which the empire of Charlemagne was afflicted. The turbulent independence of the nobles, accustomed in those times of confusion to despise the sovereign and the laws, the discontents of the clergy, and the ambitious projects of both these orders, were a fertile source of troubles. Every thing now tended towards anarchy, and threatened incessant revolutions. Such was the internal state of the empire, while the maritime parts were harrassed by foreign invaders. The Saracens ravaged many provinces of Italy, and the Normans infested the coasts of France and the Netherlands. These calamitous circumstances induced the three brothers to enter into a confederation for mutual defence, and for settling the succession of the three great branches of the family of Charlemagne. This treaty, the effect of fear rather than of affection, was concluded in a general assembly, and seemed well calculated to prevent a repetition of those wars, which had so long and so fatally convulsed the monarchy, although it proved ineffectual in those turbulent times. As every thing that relates to the general state of society, is more interesting than the family quarrels of princes, it is requisite to observe, that one of the constitutions of this assembly tended extremely to strengthen the feudal powers, and to enfeeble the royal authority which was already too weak. This constitution ordained, that every freeman should have liberty to choose whether he would be vassal to the king, or to a subject.† By this regulation the power

* Nithard. de dissens. fil. Lud. Pii apud Russel. Henault. Ab. Chron. an 842.

† An. Bertiniani apud Russel.

of

of the nobles, and the number of their retainers were greatly increased; for, in those times of confusion and violence, when laws were little regarded, and individuals stood in need of some stronger protection than they could afford, most of the possessors of allodial lands chose rather to be vassals to some neighbouring nobleman than to depend on the king, whose attention they had little reason to expect, and whose aid was distant and doubtful. From this time allodial tenures began gradually to disappear, and were finally absorbed in the feudal system.

The kingdom of France had been distinct from the empire since the death of Louis le Debonnaire; but its limits had not been determined until the treaty concluded between his three sons, Lotharius, Louis, and Charles. It continued ever afterwards a distinct kingdom; although, by right of succession from Charlemagne, the imperial dignity sometimes devolved on the kings of France. On the death of the emperor Louis II. Charles the Bald crossed the Alps into Italy, and received the imperial crown as a present from the pope.* This circumstance and the agreement, which he made on that occasion, to date the commencement of his reign from the day of his coronation, turned out afterwards greatly to the advantage of the papal see. Charles enjoyed but a short time the imperial dignity. Marching into Italy to repel the Saracens, he was scarcely arrived in that country when he received intelligence of a new enemy. Carloman, his nephew, who laid claim to the imperial crown and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of his fathers' right of primogeniture, was advancing against him with a powerful army. Charles, being aban-

* Hen. Ab. Chron. 1.

doned by his nobles, fell sick, and died in a miserable cottage at Brios, a small village on this side of Mount Cenis, A.D. 877, in the 54th year of his age, after having enjoyed the imperial dignity about one year, and reigned thirty-seven years over France.

The reign of Charles the Bald, like that of his predecessor, was turbulent and inglorious. Many of the maritime parts of France were dreadfully ravaged by the Normans, who were at the same time making horrible devastations in Great Britain, where they were, as already observed, known by the appellation of Danes. These plunderers did not confine their depredations to the sea coasts, but sailed in their small vessels up the rivers, and ravaged the interior. Voltaire, in his Universal History, says, that "in the year 845 they sailed up the Seine to Paris, which then consisted only of wooden houses; and that the inhabitants with their king, Charles the Bald, taking flight, and carrying off their best effects, the Normans burnt the city, and were afterwards shamefully bought off by that monarch with 14,000 marks of silver; which only served as an encouragement to further depredations." Voltaire, however, although an animated writer, is not always an exact historian. However, it appears from Mezerai and others, that the Normans several times ascended the Seine, the Loire, the Meuse, and the Rhine, and that scarcely any part of France, near the coast or the great rivers, escaped their ravages.* This, as well as the preceding reign, is likewise marked by the exaltation of the church and the nobility. Charles was incapable of maintaining the rights of the crown, either against the usurpations of the papal see, or the en-

* Ver Chron. Hist. Norm.

croachments

croachments of his own subjects, and he gave a deadly blow to the royal authority in the last capitulary of his reign, which renders public honours and employments hereditary.*

Louis the Stammerer succeeded his father, Charles the Bald, but was obliged to purchase the crown at the price which the bishops and nobles imposed, granting emoluments and privileges to the former, and heaping on the latter lands, offices, and honours. This prince reigned only eighteen months, and was succeeded by his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman. In this joint reign, France suffered a considerable dismemberment. Boso, brother-in-law to Charles the Fat, by the influence of the pope and the clergy, procured the establishment of the new kingdom of Arles, which comprised Provence, Dauphine, Lyonnois, and Franche Compte, together with part of Burgundy.† Louis III. dying without issue, left Carloman, his brother, in possession of the crown of France, which at his death, A.D. 884, devolved on Charles the Fat. This prince was already possessed of the imperial dignity when he ascended the throne of France. On this union of the imperial and royal crowns, he acquired an extent of dominion almost equal to that of Charlemagne; but being too weak to support so good fortune, he sunk under its weight. The most remarkable transaction of this reign was the siege of Paris by the Normans in the years 885 and 886, which is greatly celebrated by the French Historians. The Parisians defended their city with dauntless resolution nearly two years, against an army of above 30,000 men, and the combined efforts of courage

* Capit. Carol. Palv. ap. Russel. † Hen. Ab. Chron. A D. 879.

 and

and stratagem. Eudes, count of Paris, Robert his brother, Goslin the bishop, together with Eble the abbot, distinguished themselves by their extraordinary valour and patriotism. The emperor and king at length came to the relief of the city, and made his appearance at Montmartre with the whole military force of his diminions.* But seeing the Normans not in the least intimidated by the sight of his armed multitudes, he preferred a shameful negotiation to a doubtful engagement, and purchased their retreat with a great sum of money. He also permitted them to winter in Burgundy, and continue their ravages until the stipulated sum could be paid. Charles had never been respected; but this ignominious treaty, and its consequences, completely ruined his reputation. His subjects revolted. The unfortunate prince was deposed; and, being deprived of the imperial and royal crowns of Germany and France, was reduced to subsist on the liberality of the Bishop of Mentz, and soon after died in distress and obscurity.† Eudes, count of Paris, and its gallant defender, was then elected king of France; but he agreed to hold the kingdom in trust for Charles the Simple, the acknowledged heir of the family of Charlemagne. France, however, notwithstanding the courage and abilities of Eudes, still continued a theatre of contention; and this prince died A.D. 898, without being able to remedy the disorders of the state.

The reign of Charles the Simple, who was now acknowledged king in his own right, is distinguished by the usurpations of the nobles and governors of provinces,

* Chron. de Gest. Norm. apud Russel—Paul. Emil. de Gest. Franc. apud id.

† Annal. Fuldens apud Russel.

vinces, and by the establishment of the Normans in France. In this reign also, the imperial sceptre was transferred from the family of Charlemagne; and the western or German empire rendered elective. This revolution was occasioned by the weakness of Charles the Simple, who, being reduced to a small patrimony in consequence of the usurpations of the nobles, had it not in his power to assert his right.* The capitularies of Charles the Bald, had given the first fatal blow to the royal authority; and this reign gave it the finishing stroke. The nobles now aspired openly to independence. The governors of provinces usurped the governments with which they had been entrusted, and extorted confirmations of them from the king for themselves and their heirs, on the easy condition of an empty homage. Hence arose the titles and sovereignty of the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Aquitaine, Gascony, Languedoc; the counts of Flanders, Champagne, Thoulouse, &c. who were independent sovereigns in their respective territories, barely recognizing their vassalage to the crown.† The kings of France from this period became, under the power of their vassals, what those of the first race had been under the usurpations of the mayors of the palace, mere cyphers in the kingdom, and the royal authority an empty sound. This state of weakness and anarchy afforded to the Normans an opportunity of establishing themselves in France, where they had been so long known by their desultory inroads. Rollo, one of their most illustrious chiefs, after having spread terror over all the maritime provinces, sailed up the Seine, took and fortified Rouen, and, being then sure of a

* Hen. Ab. Chron. an. 912.

† Origine de dignités & de magist. en France. And. Hist. Com. vol. 1.

safe

safe retreat, set no bounds to his depredations. He now appeared so formidable, that Charles found it necessary to offer him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neustria for her dowry, on condition of his embracing the Christian religion, and doing homage as a vassal to the crown. The treaty was concluded; and the province received from its possessors the new appellation of Normandy. Rollo soon shewed himself as great in peace as in war. He encouraged agriculture and industry, invited colonies of his countrymen to settle in his territory, and was strict in the administration of justice. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader one of the ablest princes and legislators of the age.*

The remaining part of the history of the Carlovingian race of kings, through the successive reigns of Rodolph, Louis IV. Lotharius, and Louis V. including a space of seventy years, presents a mere political chaos, in which nothing is discernible but the petty wars and contentions of the nobles, now grown independent of the sovereign. The whole kingdom of France was divided into a number of separate principalities no more than nominally dependent on the crown, whose possessors waged continual wars among themselves; while the king, without power, and almost wholly deprived of his dominions, took no part in the contests of those who called themselves his vassals, but totally disregarded his authority.† No state of civil society could be more anarchical or more unhappy than that which France now displayed. The system of usurpation and oppression descended from superior to inferior, in a long train of subordination. He who could seize on a single castle, or

* Russel's Mod. Eur. vol. 1. ch' 13.

† Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 957, &c.

two

two or three villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province, and acted as a sovereign over his dependents. These petty monarchs, constantly engaged in hostilities against one another, exercised an insupportable tyranny over the people. Allodial tenures now totally disappeared. The great body of the community was reduced to a state of absolute servitude; or to a condition so precarious and wretched, that those few who still possessed freedom, were happy to exchange it for protection and slavery, in an age when all law but that of force was extinct.* Such was the state of France when Hugh Capet ascended the throne: the kingdom consisting of a monstrous assemblage of members without any compact body, and the king possessing no more than the two cities of Rheims and Laon,† while many of the vassals of the crown, such as the Duke of Burgundy, the Earl of Flanders, &c. held the sovereignty of extensive provinces.

In regard to the general state of literature, science, and trade, in France, under the kings of the Carlovingian dynasty, a tolerably just idea may be collected from what has already been said. In a state of anarchy, of violence, and oppression, neither arts, letters, commerce, nor jurisprudence can flourish, nor civilization make any progress. Charlemagne made, as already related, some vigorous and well directed efforts to dispel the darkness which had overclouded

* Montesquieu Esprit des Lois, liv. 30.

† The reader will here observe, that the feudal system of France became of a different nature from that of England, and rose to a greater height in the former than in the latter country, where this aristocratical usurpation of benefices or governments never took place. The Norman barons were less formidable to the crown than the great vassals of France, although the people were in the same state of depression.

 the

the human mind. Some of his establishments, such as the episcopal sees and colleges which he founded, were conducive to the preservation of the little learning then in Europe; and produced, at different intervals, some men of eminent genius, whose successive exertions contributed to its revival. The cities, also, which he founded or rebuilt in Germany and Italy, were the nurseries of civilization in the former, and, in process of time, revived the trade and opulence of the latter country.* But the general state of Europe was unfavorable to the immediate operation of means so well adapted to their end; and after the death of that great monarch, the mists of ignorance accompanying the evils of anarchy set in as thick as before, and buried arts, sciences, and civilization in the universal gloom. This was particularly the case in France. In that country, all was poverty, confusion, and barbarism. The president Henault, speaking of the period in which Hugh Capet ascended the throne, says, "This was the age of ignorance; so profound it was, that scarcely did kings, princes, and lords, much less the common people, know how to read. They were acquainted with their possessions by usage, but they seldom thought of securing them by registers, as they were strangers to the practice of writing. To this it was owing that marriages in those days were frequently declared void; for as these marriages were concluded at the church door, and subsisted only in the memory of such as had been present, they could not recollect either their alliances or degrees of kindred, so that relations were often married without the necessary dispensations. Hence arose so many pretexts, in case of dislike, or for reasons of state, to

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1.

part

part from a lawful wife; hence, also, the great influence which the clergy began to obtain in temporal affairs, because they were the only persons who had any knowledge of letters." The same author then quotes from Pasquier. "As the Druids," says Pasquier, "kept the keys of their religion and of letters, so did our priests engross both those articles to themselves—our nobility not troubling their heads about so important a subject."*

As to arts and sciences, the history of France, during this period, make no mention of their progress, and scarcely of their existence. It was impossible that any arts, except those of necessity, should be cultivated in so turbulent and confused a state of things. These remarks, however, are not peculiar to France, but may be applied to all the other nations of Europe, in those times of wretchedness and ignorance, except the Arabs of Spain; among whom arts, sciences, letters, manufactures, and commerce, formed a striking contrast with the barbarism of their neighbours. During the former part of this period, two circumstances occur which may assist us in forming some judgment of the scarcity of gold and silver in France, which, indeed, was the case in the other European countries. The first is, that at the Council of Thoulouse, A.D. 846, it was ordered, that the contribution which every parish priest was to pay to his bishop, consisting of a bushel of wheat, a bushel of barley, a measure of wine, and a lamb, was valued at two sous, or the tenth part of a livre, or pound of silver; which, in our times, would be worth between six and seven shillings.† The second is, that Charles the Bald, in a

* Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 1.

† The livre was originally a pound weight of silver, as its name imports. Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 1, an. 813.

general

general assembly held at Paissy, A.D. 864, published an edict, ordaining a new coinage, and the old money being consequently called in, he ordered fifty livres or pounds of silver to be issued out of the treasury, for the current circulation. "These facts," says the president, Henault, "are the more deserving of notice, as we have already observed the magnificence of the court of King Dagobert; and one would imagine, that gold and silver, instead of diminishing, ought to have been more common in France, since the reign of Charlemagne, whose increase of power must have undoubtedly extended the commerce of his subjects." To this observation, however, of M. de Henault, relative to the riches of Dagobert, might be opposed the observations already made, that, in an age, when commerce had neither produced nor disseminated wealth, the splendor of a monarch, or of a few grandees, was not a sure indication of national opulence. And to the latter part of his reasoning, it might also be replied, that the support of armies and garrisons, and the foundation of cities and bishoprics in countries which had no wealth of their own, must have caused an expenditure, that could be supplied only by more opulent regions; and, consequently, Charlemagne's conquests, especially in Germany, seem to have tended rather to the impoverishment than to the enriching of France.

The continual depredations of the Normans must also have carried off a considerable part of the wealth already amassed; and, by the annihilation of agriculture and commerce in many parts of the country, have prevented any new accumulation. All these circumstances, duly considered, make it appear in no wise improbable, that, during the reigns of the Carlo-

vingian kings, France possessed a less proportion of wealth than under the first dynasty.

Hugh Capet ascended the throne of France, A.D. 987. Before his elevation to royalty, he was one of the most powerful of the vassals of the crown, being Count of Paris, and holding in possession that extensive district, then called the dukedom of France, which extended as far as Touraine. The influence which he possessed in the kingdom enabled him, on the death of Louis V, to seize the crown, after the family of Charlemagne's dynasty had reigned 236 years, and to establish a new dynasty, almost without opposition. In order to secure the succession to his posterity, he associated his son Robert with himself in the kingdom, caused him to be crowned, and invested him with the ensigns of royalty. But as Hugh was indebted for his elevation to the favour of the great vassals, he was obliged to comply with their demands; and, by confirming them in the power which they had assumed in the provinces, to give a legal sanction to their usurpations. This prince died, A.D. 996, in the 57th year of his age, and the ninth of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Robert, who was universally considered as one of the best kings that ever reigned over France. But his life was embittered by an unhappy dispute with the papal see. Robert had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree, a marriage, not only lawful according to our present ideas, and justified by the practice of all nations, but also necessary to the welfare of the state, as she was sister to Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy. Gregory V, however, undertook to dissolve the marriage; and, in the most despotic manner, issued an imperious decree, commanding the king and queen to be separated under the

the penalty of excommunication. Robert, however, persisted in keeping his wife; and the sentence of excommunication was, in consequence, published, which made such an impression on the minds of his subjects, that the king was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by all his domestics, two or three only excepted; and these threw to the dogs all the victuals that were left at his table, and purified by fire all the vessels in which they had been served up: so fearful were they of what had been touched by an excommunicated person.* The king was at last reduced to such distress, and his spirits were so broken by seeing himself an object of universal abhorrence, as well as by the apprehension of a general revolt, that he was obliged to comply with the arbitrary decrees of papal tyranny, and to repudiate his wife.

Robert died, A.D. 1031, and was succeeded by Henry, his son, a prince who, at the age of twenty-seven, combined all the circumspection of age with the promptitude and vigour of youth. But he had need of these qualifications; for his mother, Constance, soon after his accession, drew over to her party a number of lords and bishops, in order to place her younger son Robert on the throne. Henry was therefore obliged to take refuge with the Duke of Normandy, whose powerful aid restored him to the monarchy. This king died, A.D. 1060. Philip I, his son and successor, being a minor, was placed under the guardianship of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, a man of strict honour and great political sagacity. The connection between the Earl Regent and William Duke of Normandy, his son-in-law, whom he permitted to levy forces in France and Flanders, greatly contributed to place the latter on the throne of Eng-

* Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 1, an. 988—Puffendorf. vol. 1, ch. 5.

land

land 155 years after the establishment of the Normans in France.

The character of Philip makes no conspicuous figure in the annals of royalty, but his reign is distinguished by an event which merits a place in the history of the human mind, and of European society. Since the days of Charlemagne no transaction had taken place, which, in both these points of view, is more entitled to the attention of posterity, or which, in its immediate and remote consequences, had a greater effect on the political and commercial affairs of Europe. The first croisade being determined in the council of Clermont, held A.D. 1095, under the pontificate of Urban II, the philosophical investigator of history is naturally led to enquire into the causes of those extravagant expeditions, which exhibit the most singular display of religious and military enthusiasm to be found in the history of mankind.

To view, with delight and veneration, those places which have been the residence of any great personage, or the scene of any great transaction, is natural to man. The warrior contemplates with enthusiasm the field where some celebrated victory has been gained; and the admirer of Homer's Iliad is enraptured in traversing the Troad, and viewing the Simois and the Scamander. It is therefore easy to conceive, that the Christians of an early period might entertain a peculiar veneration for those places which were consecrated to pious recollection, from being the theatre of the actions and sufferings of the Redeemer of mankind; and, in an age when works of supererogation were considered as compensations made to Heaven for crimes, it is no wonder that religious journies to Jerusalem should become frequent and fashionable.

 A pilgrimage

A pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Christ, was certainly more interesting, and calculated to excite more sublime ideas and stronger emotions in the mind, than those which, in that age, were so commonly made to the shrines of saints and martyrs; and the expence, the fatigue, and the danger, attending so long a journey, naturally caused it to be considered as more meritorious.

About the close of the tenth century an opinion had prevailed throughout Christendom, which had contributed both to enrich the monastic orders, and to increase the frequency of pilgrimages. The thousand years spoken of in the Revelation of St. John, computed either from the nativity or the passion of Christ, were supposed to be nearly accomplished; and the general judgment was imagined to be at hand. Such was the prevalence of this opinion, and the infatuation of the times, that numbers of credulous Christians delivered to the religious orders their lands and treasures, and repaired to Jerusalem to meet their Redeemer.* It is reasonable to suppose that the monks would offer up fervent prayers for the eternal salvation of those pious devotees, who left them their earthly possessions, and went to Jerusalem to wait the appearance of Christ on Mount Sion. In regard to the time of Christ's second coming, they were soon undeceived; but the frequency of pilgrimages suffered no decline. The Christians, however, besides the mortification of seeing the holy sepulchre in the hands of infidels, were subject to a variety of impositions and

* Recuil des Hist. de France, tom. 10.—Mosheim Hist. Eccles. vol. 2. It is not a little surprising to consider the extravagant ideas that have originated from this vague opinion of an inexplicable millenium, and which may be traced down from the visionaries of the apostolic age to those of the present day.

insults

insults from their rapacity and barbarism. The caliphs, wisely considering the constant resort of such a number of strangers, many of whom were persons of high rank and distinction, as a source of wealth to their dominions, encouraged those pious visits: under their enlightened and polished government, the pilgrims met with protection, and were treated with respect. But the Turks, an uncivilized Tartar tribe, having erected their power on the ruins of the Caliphate, and become masters of Syria, treated the Christians who visited Jerusalem with outrage and insults. Every pilgrim that returned from Palestine related the dangers and difficulties he had encountered in visiting the holy city; and these repeated accounts filled Europe with indignation. At this juncture, a fanatical monk, known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, having made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and being deeply affected with the dangers to which Christians were exposed in performing that act of piety, his ardent and enthusiastic mind formed the vast project of exciting the whole power of Christendom against the infidels, in order to expel them from the Holy Land. On his return he ran from province to province, with a crucifix in his hand, exhorting princes and people to engage in this holy expedition; and every where inspired the same enthusiastic ardour, by which he was animated.

Gregory VII. had projected this great enterprize; and, under the direction of so great and so daring a politician, little doubt could have been entertained of its success; but his continual wars with the emperor had prevented its execution. Urban II, who now sat in the papal chair, was less sanguine in his expectations, and considered it as a doubtful undertaking.

He

He entered, however, at last into the hermit's views; and a council being called at Clermont, where the greatest prelates and nobles attended; the war was resolved on, the commanders appointed, and the plan of operations determined. Godfrey de Bouillon had the chief command; Hugh, the king's brother, Robert Duke of Normandy, brother to William II. of England; Raymond, Count de Thoulouse; Stephen, Count de Boulogne, father of Stephen, King of England; Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard the Norman; and many others of an elevated rank, joined in the expedition.* Persons of every description flew to arms with enthusiastic ardour: the nobles with their martial followers; ecclesiastics of every order, and vagabonds and desperadoes from every country, were eager to engage in an expedition, which they considered as a propitiation for all their crimes, and by which they expected to make fortunes in this world, if they succeeded, and, if they fell, to receive a crown of glory in the world to come; an alternative equally flattering to devotion, to avarice, and to ambition. Incredible numbers of adventurers flocked to the standard of the cross, and the leaders, apprehensive that the greatness of the armament would defeat its purpose, sent off an undisciplined multitude, consisting of about 300,000 men, to proceed before them, under the conduct of Peter the Hermit, who marched at the head of this army of vagabonds with sandals on his feet, a rope about his waist, and all the other marks of monkish austerity.

This undisciplined van of the croisading army took the road for Constantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria; and another numerous hord of banditti con-

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

ducted

ducted by Godescal, a German priest, took the same route. This immense multitude, without magazines or any provision for subsistence on their march, soon found themselves under the necessity of plundering the countries through which they passed. The Jews were the first victims of their rapacious fury. As soldiers of Jesus Christ, they thought themselves authorised to take vengeance on the posterity of his murderers; and, falling on those unhappy people, they put to the sword all such as would not submit to baptism, and seized their property. In Bavaria, 12,000 were massacred, besides multitudes in other parts of Germany. When Jews could no longer be found, and their wants demanded a supply, they began the pillage of Christians, as the sacred cause which they had espoused seemed, in their eyes, to sanctify every crime. The inhabitants of the countries through which they had taken their route, seeing all property involved in a scene of universal depredation, every where rose in arms, and almost exterminated this hord of fanatics. Their conductor, Peter the Hermit, with about 20,000 of his pious banditti, at length reached Constantinople, where he was joined by fresh bands of German and Italian vagabonds, who committed the greatest disorders. Their rapacity extended to every thing sacred and profane. Even the churches were not exempted from pillage by those champions of the Cross.* The emperor Alexis Comnenus, astonished to see his dominions suddenly overrun with crowds of licentious barbarians, and to hear of the multitudes that were following, made all possible haste to get rid of those troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels for passing the Bosphorus. This disorderly crowd, on

* Maimbourg's Hist. des Croisades, tom. 1.

advancing into Asia, was attacked by the Sultan of Nice, and almost entirely extirminated. Peter the Hermit, however, escaped, and found his way back to Constantinople.

The regular armies of the croisaders at last arrived at the imperial city, in such numbers, as warranted the elegant expression of the princess Anna Comnena, that "Europe, loosened from its foundations, seemed to precipitate itself upon Asia."* The soldiers of the Cross, when mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus, A.D, 1097, amounted to the incredible number of 100,000 horse and 600,000 foot. The Greek emperor had applied to the Latins for succour against the Turks; but he little expected, and still less desired, such an overwhelming inundation of warriors, whose alliance he considered as more formidable than the hostilities of his enemies. Conciliating their affections with presents and promises, he at last got rid of those unwelcome visitors, as he had done of the former, by furnishing them with provisions, and facilitating, as speedily as possible, their passage across the Bosphorus into Asia.

The prodigious army of the croisaders was sufficiently numerous to have conquered the whole of that continent, had their leaders acted in concert; but they were conducted by men accustomed to feudal independence, and equally averse to civil and military subordination. Asia, indeed, at that time, presented an

* Anna Comnena. Alex. lib. 5. The princess, Anna Comnena, was the daughter of the Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, the history of whose reign she wrote. She was a spectatress of what she describes with such energy, and perfectly acquainted with every particular. Her Alexiade is reckoned an elegant performance; but she has been accused by the Latins of partiality to her father.

easy

easy conquest: like Europe, it was divided into a number of small states, comprehended within the great monarchies. The caliphate resembled the kingdom of France: the Turkish princes paid an empty homage to the caliphs, but were, in reality, their masters; and the numerous sultans, like the European barons, were constantly engaged in wars with each other, which is always the case when barbarous or half civilized countries are divided into a number of petty states. Various and fatal distempers produced by fatigue, intemperance, and the influence of a new climate, soon diminished the numbers of the croisaders, which gave rise to the improbable report, that the Greeks had poisoned the springs. Animated, however, by an enthusiastic zeal, the Latins pressed forward, toward the end of their enterprise, in spite of every obstacle, and took Nice, after having twice defeated the armies of the Sultan. They then made themselves masters of Antioch, after a desperate siege, and entirely broke the power of the Turkish princes, who had so long domineered over the caliphate.

The champions of the Cross now advanced to Jerusalem, the great object of their armament; and the acquisition of which they considered as the consummation of their labours. The Caliph of Egypt had, since the fall of the Turks, gained possession of that city, and by his ambassadors offered the Christian pilgrims all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the former caliphs. But the croisaders demanded the surrender of the city; and, on a refusal, prepared for the siege. The number of these adventurers was exceedingly diminished by the sword and by sickness, as well as by various detachments left for garrisons; but their enthusiastic zeal and bravery rendered them

 irresistible.

irresistible. Never did the flames of religious fanaticism blaze with more destructive fury than in the sieges of Jerusalem and Antioch, where Christians and Mahometans vied with each other in acts of desperate valour. After a murderous siege of five weeks Jerusalem was taken by assault, on Good-friday, A.D. 1099, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the day and hour of Christ's passion; a coincidence peculiarly striking to enthusiastic minds in a superstitious age. The garrison and the inhabitants were put to the sword without distinction of age, sex, or rank, and more than 70,000 Mahometans perished in this horrible massacre. The streets of the Holy City were covered with heaps of slain, and streamed with torrents of blood, when the savage warriors, laying aside their ensanguined arms, advanced bare-footed and on bended knees to the sepulchre of the Redeemer; and, glutted with the slaughter of their fellow mortals, sung anthems to the Prince of Peace! Such is the power of fanaticism in perverting the dictates of conscience, and stifling the feelings of humanity. Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem. Bohemond had already been made prince of Antioch, and several of the other leaders obtained settlements in Asia. But while these French desperadoes were displaying their ferocious valour in the East, their country presented at home a chaos, in which no feature of grandeur can be distinguished.

France during the greatest part of the reign of Philip I, exhibited a scene of confusion and political troubles. Philip having espoused Bertrand de Montford Duchess of Anjou, while her husband, and also his own wife were alive, had been excommunicated in the same

same council that instituted the first croisade.* And the thunders of the Church, together with his own indolence and licentious life, had totally ruined his authority. The Nobles insulted him every hour, plundered the subjects of his domain, and every lord of a cattle became a public depredator. To remedy these disorders, Philip made his son Louis, surnamed the Gross, his colleague in the government. The young prince, who with all the activity and vigour of youth was free from its vices, took the most decisive measures for the restoration of order. He constantly kept the field, with a small but select body of troops levied on the royal domain, which he employed against the nobles, who treated all laws with contempt. He demolished their castles; he compelled them to make restitution to such as they had pillaged, as well as to relinquish the lands they had usurped; and by such seasonable severities, exercised with a strict regard to justice, he obtained the reverence of the people and restored order to the state.

Louis succeeded his father, A. D. 1108, being the sixth of that name, who reigned over France. This prince entered into a war with Henry I, of England, in which nothing remarkable occurred; and the remainder of his reign was spent in contests with the vassals of the crown, whom he so far overawed as at last to produce general tranquillity. This prince seems to be the first king of France who began to recover the authority usurped by the vassals; and who by enfranchising villains and bondmen, and conferring privileges and immunities, on cities and towns, and diminishing as much as possible the exhorbitant authority of the seigniorial jurisdiction, paved the way

* Harduin Council, Tom. 11.

 for

for the future extinction of the feudal system in that kingdom. Louis VI. died A. D. 1137, in the sixtieth year of his age, leaving an unblemished reputation.

This Prince was succeeded by his son Louis VII. who was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to experience the turbulent spirit of the nobles whom his father had considerably humbled. Among these Thibaud, Count of Champagne, was one of the most haughty and powerful. The king having made an expedition into his province, destroyed the town of Vitre with fire and sword. It is said that 1300 of the inhabitants, who had taken sanctuary in the church, perished in the conflagration.* Such are the sufferings of the people amidst the contests of the great, and such the calamities attendant on a weak and divided system of government. In those ages, however, it was customary to commit the most shocking enormities, and then attempt to cajole Heaven into forgiveness, by ostentatious acts of devotion, or an extravagant zeal for religion; and Louis, influenced by the exhortations of St. Bernard, endeavoured to stifle his remorse for the inhuman massacre of the inhabitants of Vitre, by the pious expedient of a second croisade.† As the Christians of Palestine were daily losing ground and Jerusalem itself was threatened, they solicited the assistance of Europe; France had poured out the first inundation and was applied to in hopes of a second. Pope Eugenius III. to whom the deputies from Jerusalem had been sent, very wisely chose St. Bernard for the preacher of this new croisade; a fitter instrument, indeed, could not have been found for promoting such a scene of sanctified butchery. Nature and education had formed Bernard for an orator. He was master

* Tyr. Gest, Ludovici 7.

† Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 1. an 1145

of

of all the learning of that age, enthusiastically zealous, inflexible in his purpose, and transcendently eloquent. It was the peculiar talent of this extraordinary man to sway the human mind with an irresistible power. Accommodating himself with admirable facility to all the variety of scenes and of circumstances that human life can furnish; one moment concealing himself in the recesses of his solitude, and the next shining amidst the splendor of a court, he never seemed to be out of his place. Without any title or public character his personal abilities and eloquence obtained him a degree of estimation superior to all authority. He was every where regarded as a saint, consulted as an oracle, and revered as a prophet. With such a reputation and such powers of elocution, it is no wonder that he easily persuaded Louis that nothing but an expedition to Palestine could atone for his sins.

Segur, abbot of St. Denis, then prime minister, endeavoured by the most rational arguments to dissuade the king from this romantic enterprize, telling him that the most suitable means of expiating his guilt, was to stay at home and to govern his kingdom with equity and prudence. But the eloquence of Bernard, and the spirit of the times, prevailed over reason and sound policy. The scene was opened at Veroli in Burgundy. A scaffold was erected in the market place, on which Bernard appeared with Louis at his side. The saint spoke first: the king seconded him, and taking the cross, all that were present followed the example. From France this enthusiastical orator went to Germany on the same pious errand. He ran from city to city, communicating his enthusiasm. By the irresistible force of his eloquence, he prevailed

on the Emperor Conrad III, Frederic Barbarossa, afterwards emperor, and an incredible number of persons of all ranks to take the cross, promising them, in the name of God, pardon for their sins and victory over the infidels. The Emperor first took the field: the king of France immediately followed with an army of 80,000 men.* Upon a moderate calculation the combined armies of France and Germany could not amount to less than 200,000 men. Had they been conducted with prudence and acted in concert, their numbers must have ensured success; but the same excesses which had disgraced the first croisade were renewed in the second, while the mutual distrust and jealousy of their leaders totally frustrated the enterprize. Conrad first crossed the Bosphorus and penetrated into the middle of Asia Minor, where his army was cut to pieces in the defiles of the mountains. Louis fell into the same snare near Laodicea; and thus this formidable armament experienced the ill success which generally attends such romantic expeditions. The French monarch, as well as the Emperor, returned to Europe, with the shattered remains of a once formidable army: and numbers of families, poured out in vain, their invectives against St. Bernard, whose seductive eloquence and deluding prophecies had induced them to engage in this disastrous enterprize. But this celebrated orator and saint, acutely cleared himself of the charge of falshood or mistake, by declaring that the immorality and bad conduct of the croisaders were the cause of their ill success; as the sins of the Israelites retarded their entrance into the promised land, and doomed a whole generation to perish in the wilderness: nor was he indeed far wrong in his asser-

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

tion.

tion.* In addition to these misfortunes, Louis experienced a domestic cross, which greatly added to his vexation. His pious consort, whose affection for her husband and zeal for religion had prompted her to take the cross and accompany him into Asia, was accused of an amorous intrigue with the Prince of Antioch, and also with a young Turk named Saladin. This affair led to a divorce. Eleanor was repudiated and immediately married to Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou and Maine, afterwards Henry II. of England. The fine provinces of Poitou and Guienne, which were her hereditary possessions, proved a valuable acquisition to that crown, and contributed to give it an ascendancy over France.

During the absence of the king the state had been governed with singular prudence by Segur abbot of St. Denis, who had constantly opposed the croisade, and with great sagacity of conjecture foretold its issue. This was indeed a very different man from St. Bernard; "and although" says the president Henault, "the church has not given him a rank in her calendar, his name will be immortal in history."† He was a man of a mean appearance and low extraction; but the qualities of his mind compensated the defects of birth and exterior. From the condition of a private monk, his abilities raised him to that of Abbot of St. Denis, and to the government of the state. "In his house," says St. Bernard, "was conducted the business of the court and of the army. The cloister was often crowded with soldiers and resounded with lawyers." This abbot, who died at the age of seventy, is supposed to have been the compiler of the great chronicle of St. Denis.‡

* Bernard, however, ought in his prophetic character to have foreseen this mismanagement and its disastrous result. † Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.
‡ Mem. del. Acad. de. Belles Lett. tom. 15.

Louis VII. had, after his return from Asia, some wars with England, but they were of trifling consequence. He also meditated another croisade, but his subjects grown wiser than their prince, began to be tired of croisading; and when he proposed it in the Christmas assembly, he found them so averse, that he was obliged to relinquish the project. Louis, however, had an unconquerable propensity to croisades and pilgrimages, and to gratify this taste paid, in the year 1179, a visit of devotion to the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This monarch died A. D. 1180, having reigned forty three years.

In this century, and particularly in this reign, some small indications of the revival of learning begin to appear. The croisades, however disastrous they were in some other respects, had already contributed to expand the human mind in the western parts of Europe. By opening an intercourse with the Greeks and Arabians, these wild expeditions had made the Latins acquainted with nations more civilized and scientific than themselves, and thereby enlarged their ideas and excited a spirit of emulation. About this time numbers of schools were established in the cathedrals and monasteries, both in France and in other countries. The impulse given by Charlemagne, which had long seemed inactive, now began to resume its operation; and the colleges which he had founded became the nurseries of letters. Paris began to assume a new appearance. That city was become the chief seat of learning, being frequented by young persons from all parts of Europe. The number of students was equal to that of all the other inhabitants, and, in case of tumult or insurrection, were a formidable

able body. The quarter called the university was the most peopled; the professors of the several arts and sciences having given it the preference, on account of the greater purity of the air, and at length it was found necessary to enlarge the town, which was too small for so numerous a population.*

Louis VII. was succeeded by his son, Philip Augustus, one of the most politic and successful princes that ever filled the throne of France. To investigate the intrigues of courts, or detail the operations of campaigns is incompatible with our plan, which is only intended to exhibit a concentrated view of the origin, exaltation, and depression of nations, and the progress of civilized society. The wars of this prince with Henry II. his croisade, in conjunction with Richard I. and his grand contest with John, king of England, have already been mentioned.† A view of their consequences, and some general remarks, will here be sufficient for our purpose. France, at the accession of Philip Augustus, had made little advancement in political importance, and was only beginning to emerge from that state of barbarism, and extreme depression, to which it had been reduced under the last kings of the Carlovingian race. The kings of France were little more than sovereigns of Paris. Henry II. of England, was in possession of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Limoisin, Perigord, Angoumois, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Normandy, to which he added Brittany by the marriage of his son with the heiress of that duchy: the rest of the provinces being divided among powerful vassals, were a theatre of private quarrels and intestine wars. A glance on the map of France will

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1. † England, hist. ch. in this work.

suffice to shew within what narrow limits the kingdom was confined, and over this limited extent of territory, the king held only a nominal sovereignty. Philip, although only fifteen years of age at his accession, displayed all the subtility and address of a hackneyed statesman. With consummate policy and determined resolution, he soon began to check the outrages and depredations of his vassals, who being constantly at variance among themselves, were unable to make an effectual opposition against his systematic plans, projected with prudence and executed with promptitude and intrepidity. By supporting the sons of Henry II. in their rebellions against their father, he counterbalanced the power of that prince on the continent. He afterwards joined king Richard I. in the famous croisade, for which the capture of Jerusalem, by the Saracens, afforded the pretext, although the ambition of the two princes, the spirit of chivalry, and a thirst of military glory, appear to have been the real motives which prompted them to undertake this expedition. Jealousies and divisions among the leaders, however, prevented the accomplishment of the conquest of Palestine. Philip and Richard mutually accused each other of being the cause of its failure.* The historians of each nation have espoused their respective parties, and, as is frequently the case, their contradictory relations tend rather to obscure than illustrate the matter. This, however, is certain, that Philip acquired less glory than Richard, whose precipitate courage, so agreeable to the romantic spirit of the age, attracted the attention of the religious and military world, and procured him a great and

* Vide accusations brought forward against Richard, in the Imperial Diet, and his defence. Rapin, vol. i.

splendid reputation. But the capture of Acre terminated the success of the expedition. Intestine divisions among the principal commanders, caused them to lose sight of their grand object, and the Christians of Syria were left in nearly as bad a state as before the arrival of those powerful European armaments. The war which commenced between France and England, after Richard's return, and continued with some short intervals to his death, was productive of no important event, and the feeble efforts of the contending princes, shew how much their power was weakened, and how little authority they possessed over their vassals.* The mad expeditions to Asia had exhausted the military force of France and England, and left both countries in a state of languor.† But the death of Richard, and the vices and incapacity of John, his successor, afforded to Philip an opportunity of augmenting the power and strength of his kingdom, by annexing to the crown of France most of the English dominions on the continent. The invasion of England by the French under Prince Louis, and the issue of that expedition, have already been mentioned.

France now became formidable to all Europe. Philip Augustus met with a check by the loss of his fleet, which was totally defeated by the English; but the victory of Bovines, which he gained in person, with an army of 50,000 men, over the combined forces of the Emperor Otho and his allies, consisting of 150,000, established for ever his military reputation, and gave security to his dominions. He failed in his object of placing his son Louis on the

* Hume's Hist. Eng. vol. 2.

† In this reign, A D. 1204, Constantinople was taken by the Croisaders, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

throne

throne of England; but he conquered all the English possessions in France except Guienne and Gascogne. But the abilities of one of her king's opportunely meeting in contact with the incapacity and misconduct of his neighbour and rival, France, from a state of depression and insignificancy, rose to a formidable height of power and political consequence.

This reign gave rise to the infamous croisade against the Albigenses. Pope Innocent III. gave his sanction to this barbarous war: St. Dominic was the apostle; Simon de Montfort, the commander in chief; and the Count of Thoulouse, with the Albigenses, the victims. The count was stripped of his dominions, and those unfortunate people, the most inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated with merciless barbarity.* Philip Augustus died, A.D. 1223, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and in the forty-third year of an important and successful reign. He was a consummate politician, and one of the greatest generals of his age. Artful, intriguing, ambitious, valiant, and enterprising, he possessed all the qualifications requisite for the cabinet or the camp; but many of his measures shewed him to be vindictive, cruel, and unconscientious. His conduct, in regard to the Jews, whom he expelled from his dominions, releasing his subjects from all debts due to that oppressed people, was so flagrantly iniquitous as to shew him totally regardless of justice, except when it coincided with policy.

In this reign, literature and the polite arts began to flourish in France, more than at any preceding period since the foundation of the monarchy. The university of Paris now became every day more famous, and architecture, painting, sculpture, &c. began to rivive.†

* Vide Hist. Albig.

† Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

About

About this time also, the city of Paris was enlarged, and its streets first began to be paved.*

Philip Augustus was succeeded by his son, Louis VIII. who performed nothing remarkable for the immediate aggrandisement of his kingdom. He contributed, however, to its future prosperity, by adhering to the maxims of his late predecessors, in diminishing the authority of seigniorial jurisdictions, and enfranchising a great number of the villains. He died, A.D. 1226, after a reign of three years, and was succeeded by his son, Louis IX. commonly called St. Louis, whose reign was distinguished by his two famous croisades, the last of those fanatical expeditions, equally inconsistent with religion, humanity, and sound policy. In the first, commencing his operations in Egypt, he took Damietta; but soon afterwards his army was greatly reduced by famine and sickness, and himself and his nobles made prisoners. In consequence of this disaster, he was obliged to restore Damietta, and pay 400,000 livres for his ransom.† In the second, landing on the coast of Barbary, in order to convert the king of Tunis by fire and sword, an epidemical disorder broke out in his army, of which, after having seen one of his sons expire, he himself died, A.D. 1271. His son and successor, Philip the Hardy, kept the field against the Soldan's troops, and saved the shattered remains of the French army, which at the first had consisted of above 60,000 men. This croisade was the last effort of that religious and military fanaticism which had continued 174 years, and carried above 2,000,000 of men from Europe to perish in

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, ad an. 1186

† Du Cange, Diss. 20. Joinville gives a different account of the sum. Hist. de St. Louis.

Palestine.

Palestine. These romantic expeditions not only exhausted the military strength of the western countries, but drained them of their money, and greatly increased the scarcity of gold and silver, which was carried into the east to defray the expences of so many princes, bishops, nobles, and knights, with their troops and equipages. That universal Providence, however, which rules the world, renders the follies of men subservient to the designs of inscrutable wisdom, and from evil educes good. The immediate effects of the croisades were disastrous in the extreme, but their future consequences were important and beneficial. The statesman and the philosopher will find it a difficult problem, to ascertain the balance between the advantages and disadvantages, which Europe received from these holy or rather unholy wars. The Popes and the clergy received the greatest immediate benefit. They were undertaken under the sanction and authority of the sovereign Pontiffs, who issued frequent indulgences in order to raise money for the support of these expensive armaments, and the sums raised by these means were collected and distributed by their legates.* Great numbers of the clergy likewise amassed fortunes by this religious and military enthusiasm which pervaded the laity. Many of the nobles, who engaged in the croisades, sold or mortgaged their lands, and the dignified clergy were generally the purchasers. Among the ecclesiastics, indeed, money was more plentiful than among the other orders of the community; and as these sanguinary expeditions were undertaken for the glory of Christ and his church, it was considered by laymen as more meritorious to dispose of their property to

* Puffend, tom, 1. ch. 5,

spiritual

spiritual than to prophane purchasers. Godfrey, Duke of Boulogne, sold his dukedom to the Bishop of Liege, and some of his castles to the Bishop of Verdun. Many other sales of the same kind took place; and by selling heaven dear and buying earth cheap, the clergy acquired a very large proportion of the seigniorial jurisdictions and landed property of France. But whether this was an evil, is a question which impartiality will find it difficult to decide, as it is evident that the fiefs could scarcely pass into worse hands than those of the lay vassals, by whom they had been formerly held. Notwithstanding the expenditure of money, and the destruction of men, occasioned by the croisades, Europe, however, and especially France and England, derived from them many important advantages. The regal authority, as well as the wealth of the clergy, was augmented. Kings as well as ecclesiastics were the purchasers of fiefs. Numbers of the turbulent vassals fell in those wars: many great families became extinct, and their fiefs were annexed to the crown. Several cities, by advancing money to their paramount lords, obtained great privileges and immunities, which contributed to their future prosperity. The power of the king increased, with the importance of the commons: both arose on the depression of the aristocratic body, and the feudal system received a considerable shock.* The western nations became better acquainted with the productions, manufactures, and arts of the east, and with the ports of the Levant. By means of those barbarian wars, the sphere of European knowledge was enlarged,

* The wars of France with England afterwards continued to produce the same effect. For the various causes which weakened the aristocracy, vide Boulainvil. Hist. du Gov. de France, lettre 12, &c.

 commerce

commerce extended, and the feudal system considerably weakened.

St. Louis is one of the most singular characters in the annals of history. Devout in the closet, and intrepid in the field, he united the narrow prejudices of the monk, with the magnanimity of the hero. Perfectly disinterested, and scrupulously conscientious, his heart was susceptible of every virtue; but a furious zeal for religion, hurried him to butcher mankind for the glory of God. His virtues were his own, his vices were those of the times. His prudence was equal to his courage, and had not his passion for propagating Christianity by the sword, caused him to form extravagant projects, France would have flourished exceedingly under his government.*

From the reign of Charlemagne to that of Philip Augustus, we have no account of any marine in France. Indeed it was impossible that any such should exist, when the royal domain was confined to a small district in the interior, and the Norman kings of England, or other potent vassals, possessed all the maritime provinces. But Philip Augustus had no sooner conquered the English provinces, and become master of the sea ports, than a naval force was established. It was destroyed, indeed, almost as soon as created; but it recovered itself considerably under St. Louis, and since that time has often made a formidable appearance, although seldom able to contend with that of England.

St. Louis was succeeded by his son Philip III, surnamed the hardy, whose reign operated no remarkable change in the external affairs of the kingdom, a great part of it being employed in reducing the refractory

* Vide Etablissmens de St. Louis, and Du Cange Vie de St. Louis.

vassals

vassals in the southern provinces. He was the first French monarch that granted letters of nobility. Before that period the nobles had assumed their titles, as well as usurped their power. This prince dying A.D. 1285, his son Philip IV, or the Fair, succeeded to the throne. His wars with the Count of Flanders, his vassal, though carried on at the expence of much blood and treasure, were not remarkable for any event of great national importance; but his reign constitutes a distinguished æra in the history of France, by the civil and political establishments to which it gave birth. The principal of these were, the institution of the supreme tribunals called Parliaments, and the formal admission of the commons, or third estate, into the general assemblies of the nation. Philip's quarrel with the Pope led to the latter measure. Boniface VIII. had prohibited the clergy from granting any aids or subsidies to princes without his permission. The French monarch who was very needy, but not less haughty than his holiness, encountered the Pope's bull with an edict, forbidding the clergy of his kingdom to send any money to Rome, without the royal licence. The Pope sent a legate to Paris, who arrogantly threatened Philip and the kingdom with an interdict. Philip caused the legate to be seized, and sent to the archbishop of Narbonne, who kept him in confinement. Boniface still more enraged, then issued a bull, declaring that "the vicar of Christ is vested with supreme authority over the kings and kingdoms of the earth." An ecclesiastic carried this bull to Paris, requiring Philip, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the Pope as his sovereign, and commanding the bishops of France to repair to Rome. The French monarch threw the Pope's bull into the

 fire,

fire, and prohibited the ecclesiastics from departing the kingdom. Some bishops and abbots, however, went to Rome, notwithstanding the royal prohibition, and Philip seized all their temporalities. Things were now come to a crisis; the sentence of excommunication and interdict against the king and the kingdom was published. The politic prince now finding himself in a situation similar to that of John king of England, near a century before, took the most effectual means of extricating himself from the difficulty, and preventing the effects of papal resentment. He convened a general assembly of the three estates of his kingdom, nobility, clergy, and commons. This appears to have been the first instance of the representatives of boroughs being summoned to the national assemblies.* The expedient was successful. The assembly acknowledged the independent right of Philip to the sovereignty, and disavowed the papal claim. Things now began to wear a brighter aspect. Benedict XI, a prudent and good man, succeeding Boniface in the Pontificate, and considering the promoting of peace as the best use of power, revoked the sentence of excommunication and interdict, which his predecessor had fulminated against the king and kingdom of France. In this king's reign, A.D. 1308, Clement V, a Frenchman, and wholly devoted to the interests of Philip, removed the papal see from Rome to Avignon, where it continued till A.D. 1376.

About this time a most iniquitous scene was exhibited throughout Europe, but especially in France. This was the suppression of the order of the Knights Templars. Whether their crimes were real or pretended, the affair is shocking to humanity; but the absurdity

* Hen. Ab. Chron. t. m. 1. Pasquier recherches de la France, p. 81.

of

of the charges have appeared, to impartial posterity, a proof of their innocence. That religious and military order, which took its rise during the first fervour of the croisades, had, from its services, and the piety of the faithful, acquired ample possessions in most Christian countries, and especially in France. But the rage for croisading had now subsided, and the Templars enjoyed, in the midst of splendor and luxury, that wealth which the enthusiastic zeal of princes and nobles had bestowed as the reward of their merit. Their riches, indeed, appear to have been the cause of their misfortunes. Some of them were accused of being concerned in a seditious tumult which happened in Paris; and Philip, with the concurrence of the Pope, resolved to involve the whole order in one undistinguished ruin. All the Templars throughout France were imprisoned in one day. They were charged with robbery, murder, and all the vices most shocking to human nature. It was pretended that every one who was received into their order, being initiated by a variety of infamous rites, was obliged to renounce Christ, to spit on the cross, and to worship a golden head, which was said to be secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles.* The absurdity and improbability of the crimes, were, as a judicious historian observes, sufficient to destroy the credit of the accusation, which is said to have rested chiefly on the information of two of their order, who for their vices had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment.† Absurd, however, as these accusations appear, numbers of the knights were put to the rack. Some with inflexible constancy perished under the hands of their tormentors. From others, confessions

* Russel mod. Eur. vol. 1. † Ibid.

were by violence extorted. The treasures of the whole order were confiscated, and many of those unfortunate knights were burned alive in different parts of the kingdom. At Paris, fifty-four perished in this manner. The grand master, and another of their principal officers, being conducted to a scaffold erected before the cathedral of Notre Dame, in view of the fire destined for their execution, a full pardon was promised them on condition of acknowledging their guilt; but those brave men rejecting the disgraceful offer, perished in the flames, persisting in protestations of their own innocence, and that of their order. It is related by some historians, that these victims of avarice and cruelty, summoned both the Pope and the king to appear on a certain day before the divine tribunal, and that they both died before the time predicted. Probably the death of both these princes, which followed soon after, might give rise to the story. But without giving credit to the tales of miracles and predictions, it is certain, that within about the space of two years after the destruction of the Templars, both Philip and Clement were summoned before that tribunal, where this mysterious affair would be impartially investigated. Philip in a short time fell into a languishing consumption, which terminated his career A.D. 1314, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign.

He was succeeded by his son Louis X, whose reign like those of his successors, Philip the Long and Charles IV, was not distinguished by any memorable event. On the death of Charles IV, Philip de Valois ascended the throne in virtue of the salique law, which, according to the interpretation which it then received, excludes, not only the females, but their descendants

descendants from the throne of France. This interpretation invalidated the claim of Edward III. of England, who was grandson of Philip the Fair, and consequently the nearest male heir to the crown, but descended from a female. Philip de Valois, nephew of the same prince, on the contrary was the nearest male heir sprung from the male line.

During the reigns of Philip de Valois, John his successor, and Charles V, all that is interesting in the history of France, in regard to political and military affairs, is included in that of England during the reign of Edward III. It will, therefore, suffice, in this place, to make some general remarks on the internal state of the country. Imagination itself could scarcely conceive a picture of society more shocking than that which France exhibited after the capture of king John at the battle of Poitiers. That misfortune, together with the preceding disorders of the kingdom, had produced an almost total dissolution of civil authority, and occasioned the most horrible and destructive violences. All laws were disregarded, and all the connections of regular society were broken. The troops, who from want of pay could no longer be kept under discipline, lived at discretion. Throwing off all regard to their commanders, they subsisted by pillage; and associating with them all the disorderly people with whom the country abounded, they infested every part of the kingdom in numerous bodies, plundered the villages, cut off all communication between the cities, and almost annihilated trade and agriculture. The nobles had lost all their power and influence; and the peasants formerly oppressed, and now left unprotected by their lords, were, from their situation, become licentious and desperate. Rising

every where in arms, they carried to extremity the disorders which commenced among the disbanded soldiers. The nobles, hated for their former tyranny, were every where exposed to the violence of popular fury, and put to the sword without mercy. The cities were not less disorderly than the country. The dauphin, afterwards Charles V, then only nineteen years of age, had assumed the reigns of government; but his youth and inexperience were ill calculated for such a scene of confusion. The Parisians detained him in a kind of captivity. Marcel, provost of the merchants, headed their unruly bands, and instead of promoting tranquillity, as became the first magistrate of the city, incited the populace to commit the most criminal outrages. Robert de Clermont, mareschal of France, and Jean de Conflans, mareschal of Champagne, were assassinated in the apartment of the dauphin, and in his presence, by that seditious demagogue. Charles at last made his escape, and the city of Paris openly erected the standard of rebellion. The king of Navarre became a leader of the mal-contents. His intention was to obtain the crown of France, but his conduct resembled that of a chief of banditti, whose design was to desolate, rather than reign over the kingdom. Amidst this universal scene of disorder, many of the people at last began to wish for tranquillity, and to range themselves under the banners of the dauphin. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was killed in attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre.* The capital immediately returned to its duty, the most considerable bodies of mutinous peasants were put to the sword or dispersed,

* To the English according to Henault, tom. 1.

and

and France at last began to assume some appearance of a regular government.

On the death of king John, in his captivity at London, the dauphin, now Charles V, succeeded to the throne, A.D. 1364. This prince did not command his armies in person, but he had the discernment to choose for their leader Bertrand du Guesclin, a general of consummate abilities, under whose conduct they were generally victorious. Before Charles could expect to counterbalance the power of England, it was necessary to remedy some disorders, of no inconsiderable magnitude, which prevailed in his kingdom. On this occasion, we have an opportunity of observing a remarkable circumstance in the history of France, which, although it has sometimes occurred in other countries, has, perhaps, in none of them been so conspicuous, or so clearly explained in their annals. In the disorderly times of antiquity, and particularly during the period distinguished by the name of the middle ages, there were always great numbers of licentious desperadoes of all nations, especially Italians, French, Flemings, and Germans, who, despising a life of peace, and the slow acquisitions of industry, made war their employment, and plunder their pursuit, and generally met with leaders of the same description. These vagrant bands, attached to no particular nation, and acknowledging allegiance to no government, were always ready to enlist under the banners of those who would give them pay, and promise them plunder. King Stephen of England, in his wars with the Empress Matilda, and John in his wars with the barons, had bodies of those mercenaries. The armies of Edward III, were also composed chiefly of soldiers of that description; and on the

the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigni, a multitude of those military adventurers who had followed his fortunes, being dispersed in the provinces of France, and possessed of fortified places, refused to lay down their arms and relinquish a course of life to which they were habituated, and by which alone they could procure subsistence. They associated themselves with the disbanded soldiers of France, and the other banditti inured to habits of rapine and violence.* These ruffian bands, grown exceedingly numerous, assumed the name of companies, and were the terror of the whole kingdom. Charles being unable to reduce them by force, it was requisite that his policy should devise some expedient for ridding his country of so dangerous an intestine evil; and the war which Henry of Trastamare had undertaken against his brother Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, furnished a favorable opportunity. Henry having failed in his attempt to dethrone his brother, fled into France, and asked permission of the French monarch to enlist those bands of desperadoes in his service. Charles, overjoyed at the proposal, immediately sent Du Guesclin to negotiate with their leaders, and the treaty was soon concluded. These ruffians having all been excommunicated, demanded of the Pope absolution, and a considerable sum of money, before they set out on their new expedition. The former was more willingly granted than the latter; but as they peremptorily informed his holiness, that they could do better without absolution than without money, he found himself under the necessity of complying with both their demands; and in order to prevent them from paying him a disagreeable visit at Avignon, he sent

* Puffend. tom. 1, c. 5. Henault, tom. 1. Froissart, liv. 1.

them 200,000 livres, with a plentiful stock of pardons and indulgences.* Being sanctified by the Pope's benedictions, and enriched, though sorely against his holiness's will, with his money, they marched under the conduct of Du Guesclin into Spain, where they defeated and dethroned the Castilian tyrant. But Edward Prince of Wales espousing his cause, numbers of these soldiers of fortune turned sides, enlisted under his standard, and assisted in replacing on the throne the monster whom they had expelled. In a battle fought on the banks of the Ebro, between Edward and Henry of Trastamare, the latter was defeated with great loss. Du Guesclin was taken prisoner. Peter was reinstated in his kingdom, and the Black Prince returned to Bourdeaux covered with glory. But this tyrant being for his ingratitude abandoned by Edward, Du Guesclin, who had been ransomed from his captivity, returned to Spain with Henry, and being joined by the Castilian mal-contents, gained a complete victory over Peter in the vicinity of Toledo. The king having taken refuge in a castle, was beseiged and made prisoner, and being brought before Henry of Trastamare, that prince killed him with his own hand, and though a bastard, ascended the throne of Castile.† Du Guesclin returning to France, and the affairs of Prince Edward being fallen into disorder in consequence of the expences incurred by his Spanish expedition, and his declining state of health, which did not allow him to exert his usual activity, the French, under their able commander, were every where victorious. Poitou, Saintonge, Rouvergue, Perigord, Ponthieu, part of Limousin, and almost all Guienne were recovered by Du Guesclin, who, in

* Puffend, tom. 1, c. 5. † Froissart, liv. 1.

reward

reward of his eminent services, was made constable of France. This great man died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, before Chateauneuf de Rendon to which he was laying siege, A.D. 1380. He was one of the greatest generals of the age, being scarcely inferior to Edward the Black Prince himself. It is said that in taking his last farewell of his officers, some of whom had served under him many years, he requested them always to remember what he had told them a thousand times, that wherever they made war, neither the clergy, the women, the children, nor the poor people were to be considered as enemies.* In the same year, 1380, died Charles V, king of France, in the forty-fourth year of his age, having just completed the sixteenth year of his reign. It is said, that before his accession to the throne, he had been poisoned by the king of Navarre, and that a German physician suspended the effects of the virus by opening an issue in his arm, telling him, at the same time, that whenever it stopped, death would certainly be the consequence, which accordingly happened.† Charles V. was a prince of extraordinary prudence, being educated in the school of adversity, and tutored by experience in situations of difficulty and danger. Contrary to the general practice of the princes of that age, he seems to have laid it down as a political maxim never to appear at the head of his armies; and as a modern historian observes, "was the first European monarch that shewed the advantage of policy and foresight, over a rash and precipitate valour."‡ From the recesses of his palace, the influence of his pru-

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1. an 1380.

† Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

‡ Russel Mod. Eur. vol. 1. let. 41.

dence was felt throughout every part of the kingdom. Without stirring from his cabinet, he recovered all that his father and grandfather, after excessive fatigues and signal instances of courage and bravery, had lost, and dispossessed the English, not only of all their new conquests except Calais, but likewise of all their ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne. In this reign the marine of France, which, as already observed, had totally disappeared under the descendants of Charlemagne, but had been revived under Philip Augustus and St. Louis, made a respectable figure, and contributed in no small degree to the security of the kingdom.* Charles delighted much in reading, and may be regarded as the founder of the royal library at Paris. He collected about 900 volumes, a very great number in that age, especially as 20 volumes were the whole literary stock that was left by his predecessor, and placed them in one of the towers of the Louvre.† From such feeble beginings arose that famous library, which has become the admiration of later times. But whatever we may, at the present day, think of this prince's library, it is extremely probable that it contained a greater number of books than all Paris, excepting the university, at that time possessed. Such was the difference between the literary wealth of those ages, and that of modern times.

In this reign the foundation of the Bastile was laid, A.D. 1370, by Aubriot provost of Paris. The commencement of the great schism in 1378, may also be reckoned among its memorable epochs.

* For the size of the ships used in those days, the reader is referred to what is said on the subject in speaking of the navy of Edward III. of England.

† Hen. tom. 1.

The

The reign of Charles VI. may be regarded as one of the most unfortunate and inglorious in the annals of France. Its history being in a great measure involved in that of England, we shall do no more than exhibit a sketch of the internal state of the nation. The accession of Charles VI, and that of Richard II. of England, happening nearly at the same time, placed the two kingdoms in almost the same situation. Both were under the government of minors; and the jealousies between the Dukes of Berri, Anjou, and Burgundy, the uncles of Charles VI, distracted the affairs of France, even more than the rivalry of the three uncles of Richard II, the Dukes of Gloucester, York, and Lancaster, disordered those of England. As the king advanced in years, however, the factions began to subside. On the death of the Duke of Anjou, Charles assumed the reins of government, and discovered indications of genius and spirit, which revived the hopes of his subjects. But unfortunately he was seized with a sort of mental derangement, from which, indeed, he recovered, but had frequent relapses; and his judgment was so much impaired, that he became incapable of governing. The administration again fell into the hands of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri, who excluded the Duke of Orleans the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from any share of the government. But the Duchess of Orleans, young, beautiful, and insinuating, gained so absolute an ascendant over the king, that she governed him at pleasure. The Duchess of Burgundy envying her influence, spread a report that the Duchess of Orleans had bewitched the king; and to heighten the odium, it was added that the Duke of Orleans had bewitched the queen. "That both were under the influence

influence of enchantment," says an ingenious writer, "is not to be doubted; but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whose assiduities so often fascinate the susceptible heart."*

Such was the state of the court of France, when the Duke of Burgundy dying, his son and successor in the duchy expected to succeed him in the government of the kingdom, and disputed the administration with the Duke of Orleans. By the interposition of friends, however, an apparent reconciliation was effected; and both parties bound themselves by oath, at the foot of the altar, to preserve it inviolate. Notwithstanding, however, their mutual protestations the Duke of Burgundy hired ruffians, who assassinated his rival in the streets of Paris.† It is said, that conjugal as well as political jealousy instigated the commission of this crime.‡ The court and parliament of Paris, instead of avenging the death of Orleans, accepted the Duke of Burgundy's justification, and the heinous crime of murder was covered with the specious name of tyrannicide. The university of Paris, however, had the courage to condemn the justification, and the pernicious doctrine which it involved. Valentina of Milan, duchess of Orleans, died of grief to see the murderer of her husband go unpunished. Another feigned reconciliation took place place at Chartres; but it soon ended in an open rupture. The Duke of Burgundy being now possessed of the administration, the capital and the whole kingdom were agitated by the two factions of the Burgundians

* Russel Mod. Eur. vol. 2.

† The Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. was assassinated in the Rue Barbette. Hen. tom. 1.

‡ Bulay Hist. Acad. Par. tom. 5. Henault. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

gundians and the Orleanois, who took the name of Armagnacs from the Count of Armagnac, who had joined the party of his son in-law the young Duke of Orleans. These levied open war against the Duke of Burgundy; and the capital, distracted and divided between the two opposite factions, exhibited continual scenes of bloodshed and violence. The Count de St. Paul being appointed governor of Paris, with a view of expelling those who were not of the Burgundian party, engaged a number of butchers, and formed a body of 500 desperadoes, who were called Cabochiers from Caboch , one of their leaders, and committed all manner of outrages.* The country was not more tranquil than the metropolis. The provinces were laid waste by constant depredations. Assassinations were every where committed, and pretended courts of judicature ordered executions without any legal trial. A peace was concluded between the two parties; but their animosity was implacable, and hostilities soon recommenced. The king being sometimes seized by one party and sometimes by the other, alternately transferred to each the ostensible appearance of legal authority. The Duke of Orleans at last called in the English to his assistance. A treaty of peace was concluded at Auexrre, but soon after violated; and the Parisians detained Louis the dauphin, who favoured the Armagnacs, a prisoner in the Hotel de St. Paul. Amidst these commotions, it was difficult to know what part it was prudent to take. The king at length joined the Duke of Orleans in the war against the Burgundians. Such was the state of France when Henry V. of England projected the invasion and conquest of that kingdom. History

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

scarcely

scarcely affords an instance of a court more corrupt or a country more miserable. The affairs of France now became inseparably connected with those of England, and have already been related.*

The termination of the expedition of Henry V. against France, by the marriage of that prince with the daughter of the French monarch, the establishment of his regency during the life of his father-in-law Charles VI. and his succession to the crown after his decease, have already been noticed in our view of English history. The three grand causes under Providence which produced so great an effect and placed the royal family of England on the throne of France, were the extraordinary valour of Henry and his troops, the civil war between the two French factions which divided the kingdom, and the assassination of John, the fearless Duke of Burgundy, by the Dauphin's party, and, as it is generally supposed, by his orders, at an interview on the bridge of Monterau. This outrage induced the young Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, to promote a treaty, which excluded the murderer of his father from the succession to the crown.

No sooner, however, was this treaty concluded at Troyes, than the Dauphin, resolving to support his hereditary claim, and appealing to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title, assumed the style and authority of regent; and, on the death of Charles VI. his father, which followed soon after that of Henry V. he was crowned at Poitiers, under the name of Charles VII. On comparing the situations of the two rival kings of France at this prince's accession, every advantage seemed to lie on the side of

* Vide England, hist. ch. Henry 5.

the English monarch Henry VI.; and the expulsion of Charles appears an event which might naturally have been expected. The patriotism of the French, and the dissentions of the English at home, which broke out into the bloody civil wars between the two rival houses of York and Lancaster, saved Charles from destruction, and at length raised his power to as great a height as that of his predecessors. The Duke of Bedford, regent of France during the king of England's minority, was one of the most accomplished princes and most experienced generals of his age. He reduced almost every fortress on this side of the Loire, and seemed likely to drive Charles quite out of the kingdom. The city of Orleans, an important post of communication between the northern and southern parts, was the principal obstacle to his progress. He resolved, therefore, to lay siege to this place. The attack and the defence were carried on with an equal degree of vigour; but, after many signal instances of valour performed by the besiegers and the besieged, Charles was on the point of giving up the city for lost, and thought of retiring to make his last stand in Languedoc. At this critical juncture, that celebrated historical phœnomenon, the Maid of Orleans appeared; and his affairs took a turn which the most sanguine imagination could never have expected. This singular character was a country girl, named Joan d'Arc, who lived at the village of Droimy in Lorrain, in the humble station of a servant at an inn, where, being frequently accustomed to act as hostler, and conduct the horses to the watering place, she had learned to ride and manage a horse.* The enthusiastic turn of her imagination,

* Monstrelet, vol. 2. fol. 41. &c.

inflamed

inflamed by daily accounts of the occurrences then taking place, inspired her with a romantic desire of relieving the distresses of her country and of its youthful monarch. Her inexperienced mind continually revolving these important subjects, she mistook the impulses of fancy for cœlestial inspirations, and imagined herself vested with a divine commission to restore her sovereign to his rights and her country to its independence. In this persuasion, and animated by an enthusiasm which, inspiring intrepidity, caused her to overlook all dangers and difficulties, and cast off all reserve, she presented herself before Baudricourt governor of Vaucouleurs, and informed him of her divine mission. The governor, influenced either by superstition or policy, sent her immediately to Chinon, where the French king then resided. Being introduced to the king, she immediately offered in the name of the Great Creator of heaven and earth, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to reinstate him in his kingdom, by conducting him to Rheims to be anointed and crowned. The king and court, perceiving that she might be made an useful instrument in this crisis of extreme difficulty and danger, resolved to adopt the illusion; and an excellent plan was contrived to give it weight in the minds of the people. An assembly of divines examined her mission and pronounced it supernatural; a jury of matrons declared her an unspotted virgin; and every story that craft could invent or ignorance believe was used to attest the reality of her inspiration. It was every where published, that when first introduced to the king, whom she had never before seen, she instantly knew him, although purposely divested of every mark that might distinguish him from the rest of

of the assembly; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a sword of a particular kind, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois; and which, although she had never seen it, she minutely described. It was universally asserted, and as universally believed, that Heaven had declared in favour of Charles, and laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on his enemies. The minds of men being thus prepared, the maid was mounted on horseback, arrayed in all the habiliments of war, and shewn to the people, who received her with the loudest acclamations. The English at first affected to treat all this farce with derision; but their imagination was secretly struck, and superstition ingrafted on ignorance is irresistible. Feeling their courage abated, they conceived themselves to be under the influence of Divine vengeance, and a general consternation took place among those troops, which, before this event, were elated with victory and fearless of danger. The maid at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her martial habiliments and displaying a consecrated standard, entered Orleans, and was received as a cœlestial deliverer. But the Count de Dunois, who commanded in the place, sensible of the difficulty of carrying on this farce, as well as of its importance, and of the dangerous consequences of any event that might detect its fallacy, did not deviate from the regular rules of war, nor suffer his mode of operations to be directed by enthusiasm.

He represented to her, that when Heaven favours a cause, the Divine will requires that the best human means should be used to correspond with cœlestial aid. Thus, while she seemed to conduct every thing, she acted under his direction; and, by his instruction,

tion, she defeated the English in several desperate sallies, drove them from their entrenchments, and compelled them to raise the siege. This event gave validity to her pretensions, and confirmed the general opinion of her divine mission. The French were still more elated, and the English more dismayed.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of her promise to Charles; the other, which was his coronation at Rheims, yet remained to be performed, and appeared a work of some difficulty. Rheims was in a distant quarter of the kingdom, and in the hands of a victorious enemy. The whole country through which it was necessary to pass was occupied by the English, who filled all the fortified places with their garrisons. It was, however, deemed expedient to maintain the belief of something supernatural in those events. Charles, therefore, resolved to avail himself of the consternation of the enemy, and to follow his prophetic conductress. He accordingly began his march towards Rheims at the head of 12,000 men. The English troops were every where petrified with terror; every city and fortress surrendered without resistance. Rheims opened its gates, and he was anointed and crowned, A.D. 1430, amidst the loudest acclamations.

The Duke of Bedford, in this dangerous crisis, when the English were every where beaten, or rather laid down their arms without fighting, and city after city, and fortress after fortress, were surrendering to his enemy, employed every resource that fortune had left him, and every expedient that his own great genius could furnish, to revive the drooping courage of his troops. Always declining an engagement, he chose so judiciously his posts as to render it impossi-

ble for the French monarch to attack him. As the last resource of his policy, he brought over the young king of England, and had him crowned and annointed at Paris; where he received the oaths of allegiance and the homage of all the vassals of the crown residing in the provinces possessed by the English. But an event now happened which, a few months sooner, might have completely retrieved his affairs, and been ruinous to Charles. The Maid of Orleans, to whose enthusiasm the latter owed his successes, having imprudently thrown herself into Compeigne, then besieged by the English and the Burgundians, was taken prisoner in a sally; and the regent, resolved on her destruction, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court, for impiety, magic, and heresy. Her ignorant or iniquitous judges, to their everlasting disgrace, found her guilty of all those crimes; and this enthusiastic, but admirable patriot and heroine, whose morals had ever been irreproachable, was cruelly delivered over to the flames.

The revolution produced by the Maid of Orleans, is perhaps the most singular that has occurred in any age or country, and her character and pretensions have been a subject of dispute among historians and divines. While the French writers affirmed that she was commissioned from God, and the English considered her as an agent of the devil, national prejudice, united with superstition, directed their opinion.* An accurate knowledge of the human mind and of political history will solve the problem, without having recourse to any thing of a miraculous nature. Some have supposed that the whole affair

* Several French writers, however, as Du Bellay, Langey, Du Haillan, and particularly Le Clerk, reject the opinion of the affair of the Maid of Orleans being in any respect miraculous.

originated

originated in the court, and that Joan d'Arc was from the very first instructed in the part that she was to act. Pope Pius II. seems to have inclined to this opinion.* But from her examination before the judges, in which she declares that she had frequently heard voices, and been favoured with visits by St. Catharine and St. Margaret, it appears that she was a deranged visionary, that the whole affair had originated from her own disordered imagination, and that the king and court considering her as an instrument that might be of use, and could be of no prejudice in their situation, which already appeared desperate, availed themselves of the illusion and seconded it by imposture. On these principles, this extraordinary affair, the discussion of which has employed so many pens is easily explained; and sound reason, untinctured with superstition, will readily conclude, that the celebrated Maid of Orleans was neither saint nor sorcerer, but a visionary enthusiast. The whole transaction was nothing more than a seasonable and successful concurrence of enthusiasm in the maid, of political craft in the court, and of superstitious credulity in the people, all which are far from being miraculous circumstances.

After the execution of the unfortunate maid, the illusion vanished; but as if Heaven had resolved to mark with disapprobation this act of inhuman barbarity, the affairs of the English grew every day more unsuccessful. The Duke of Burgundy deserted their interests; the Duke of Bedford soon after died; and the French were every where victorious. Paris surrendered to their arms on Low Sunday, 1436, after

* Vide Dissert. on the Maid of Orleans and the abstract of her trial, Rapin, vol. 1. b. 12.

having been fourteen years in the possession of the English. Normandy and Guienne, with Bourdeaux its capital, were conquered, and the English for ever expelled from France, with the single exception of Calais; which they still retained as a solitary monument of their former greatness on the continent.

Charles VII. died A.D. 1461, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the fortieth of a most successful reign, which procured him the surname of Victorious, although he was little more than a spectator of its wonderful events. Fortune and friends did every thing for him, while he scarcely did any thing for himself. His whole life was spent in gallantry, sports, and feasting; and, although he was not destitute of courage and abilities, his inattention and indolence prevented their exertion.* Notwithstanding, however, this unconcernedness of the monarch in regard to public affairs, they were so well managed by his ministers and generals, that France, which at the commencement of his reign was miserable and depressed, was, at its termination, flourishing and formidable. This monarch first established a standing army instead of those troops required to be furnished by the crown vassals, and levied a tax for its support. By this politic measure the royal authority was considerably strengthened, the feudal system greatly weakened, and the tranquillity of the kingdom better secured.

Louis XI. succeeded a father whose last years he had embittered by repeated revolts. His disposition was totally different from that of his predecessor, and he adopted a different plan of government. The leading object of his politics was the aggrandisement of the monarchy, by depressing the aristocracy and re-uniting

* Hen. tom. 1.

the

the great fiefs to the crown. The nobles being alarmed, entered into an association, and flew to arms. The king marched against them. An indecisive engagement took place, and a treaty advantageous to the insurgents was concluded, which Louis never intended to fulfil, and which he prevailed on an assembly of the states to invalidate. An artful policy was the distinguishing feature of this prince's character; but craft sometimes overshoots its mark. Having had a dispute with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, he entered into a negotiation with that prince, and appointed a personal interview at Peronne, a town of Picardy, then in Charles's possession. He went thither with only a few attendants, thinking by such an act of confidence, to inspire the duke with generous sentiments, of which he might take some advantage. At the same time, in order to forward the negotiations, he dispatched emissaries to Liege for the purpose of exciting the inhabitants to revolt against the Duke of Burgundy. While Louis was received by the duke with all the respect due to the King of France, his paramount sovereign, and thought himself on the point of concluding an advantageous treaty, his agents at Liege had executed their commission with success, but not with that secrecy which he had expected. Intelligence was received that the Liegois, at the instigation of the French emissaries, had revolted, and put the garrison to the sword. Charles, enraged at the perfidy and deceit of the French monarch, shut him up in the castle and placed double guards at the gates. After Louis had remained three days in close confinement, at the mercy of his vassal, and uncertain of his fate, he could perceive no other resource than that of bribing the principal officers of the duke to soften their

master's resentment, and engage him to enter into a treaty. The king seeing his liberty and life in the power of his enemy, was obliged to agree to every condition that pride and resentment could impose; one of the most mortifying of which was, that he should march with the duke against Liege, and assist in the reduction of a city which he himself had excited to revolt. The issue of this affair was fatal to Liege; the city was taken and burned, and the inhabitants cruelly massacred.* Such were the direful effects of the crooked policy of Louis; such, indeed, are the fatal calamities in which the people are frequently involved by the contentions of the great.

The whole reign of Louis XI. was one continued scene of fraud and violence; of executions, wars, and negotiations. He was almost constantly engaged in hostilities with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, until the fall of that prince in a battle fought with the Swiss near Nancy in Lorrain; an event which freed the French monarch from a dangerous and powerful enemy. On this occasion, however, the rapacity of Louis betrayed him into a political error, the consequences of which have been extremely disastrous to France. While a marriage was negotiating between the dauphin and Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles, whose dominions included Franche Compté, and almost the whole of the Netherlands, the king, according to his maxims of rapacious policy, resolving to make sure of something, seized on Burgundy as a male fief, and annexed it to the crown.* The Flemings detesting this ungenerous conduct, promoted the marriage of the heiress of Burgundy with Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederic III, by which the Netherlands were trans-

* Philip de Commines, liv. 2. † Ibid. liv. 5, ch. 15.

ferred to the house of Austria. This was the source of that implacable animosity which long subsisted between Austria and France, and of those wars which afterward cost both of them so much blood and treasure.* One of his grand political maxims was to avoid any quarrel with England, in order to be always at liberty to reduce the power of his vassals. In this view he entered into a treaty with Edward IV, by which he engaged to pay 50,000 crowns per annum, during their joint lives, in order to induce that monarch to desist from his pretensions to the provinces formerly possessed by the English.

Louis XI. could not boast of any great success in arms: he made no foreign conquests; but he subdued his own refractory vassals, and aggrandized the French monarchy by the seizure, not only of Burgundy, but also of Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar, on the death of Charles Count de Maine, who left no issue. He also united to the crown Roussilion, Cerdaigne, and Boulogne; the two former under pretence of mortgage, the latter by purchase; and in his reign France, as a kingdom, had nearly assumed the form in which it has ever since appeared. He greatly increased the power of the crown, and totally depressed that of the aristocracy. He was a friend to the people, but a tyrant to the nobles, whom he persecuted with a deadly animosity. He confined them in iron cages, and carried them about like wild beasts.† Some were loaded with heavy and galling fetters, which were called the king's nets. Numbers were put to death by different kinds of tortures on the slightest accusations, and without any legal trial. In no kingdom of Europe, perhaps, did the feudal system receive so violent a shock in the space of one reign.

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1. † Phil. de Com. lib. 6.

To

To promote this end he made use of two grand engines of power and policy. It has already been observed that his father, Charles VII, by establishing a standing force, had first begun to render the feudal militia useless, and to deprive the nobles of a pretext for keeping in arms those numerous bands of vassals and retainers, with which they carried on their private wars, desolated the country, and over-awed the crown. Louis augmented this force; and considering foreign mercenaries as the most devoted instruments, and the most faithful guardians of his power, he took into his pay 6,000 Swiss, at that time the best disciplined and the most formidable infantry in Europe; and that they might be ready to act, in every emergency, on the shortest notice, he always kept a considerable body encamped in one place.* Charles left at his death a standing army of 9,000 cavalry, and 16,000 infantry. Louis, his successor, increased his cavalry to 15,000, and his infantry to 25,000.† With such a force, well disciplined and always ready for action, the nobles, disunited and already weakened and impoverished by their intestine broils, their romantic croisades, and their destructive wars with England, were totally unable to contend, and, in consequence, had no remedy left but patience under the rod of their oppressor. But considerable funds were necessary for supporting this establishment; and, as Charles was the first European monarch who established a standing army, Louis XI, his son, was the first who discovered the art of becoming arbitrary by corrupting the sources of public liberty. By exerting all his power and address in influencing the elections of representatives of the

* Dan Hist. de la Milice Francoise, 1—182.

† Phil. de Com. 1—384.

Commons,

Commons, in bribing or over-awing the other orders, and various other modes of political craft, he acquired the complete direction of the assemblies of the states, which alone had the power of granting subsidies, and rendered them subservient to all his purposes. As no power now remained to set bounds to his exactions, he made immense additions to the taxes which his father had levied. Under Charles VII. the sums raised by taxation never amounted to more than 1,800,000 livres annually. Louis XI. advanced them to 4,700,000.*

By these vigorous measures, and by a steady and unrelenting policy, Louis completely overturned the feudal system, rendered himself master of the resources of his kingdom, and established a species of government scarcely less absolute, or, in his hands, less terrible than Asiatic despotism. In taking a retrospect of the history of France, and reviewing the degraded state of her kings, the frequent desolation of her provinces, the constant oppression of her people by the power of the feudal vassals, impartial candor will be ready to confess, that scarcely any remedy could be too violent for evils so complicated and dreadful; and, that nothing less than the artful policy and unrelenting severity of Louis, could have reduced to order such a chaos of confusion. The same impartiality of judgment, however, must acknowledge that, if the end was good, the means which he employed for its attainment were often unjustifiable, on any principles of religion or morality, and frequently shocking to humanity. But when Louis, by every engine of

* Philip de Com. tom. 1, p. 384. The livre, which was originally one pound weight. was now reduced to about five livres of modern money. The revenue of Louis XI. was therefore about 23,000,000. Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

force

force and fraud had accomplished his purposes, he fell into a lingering illness, which, warning him of his dissolution, he expected death with those horrors of mind that result from consciousness of guilt and apprehensions of punishment. His melancholy forebodings rendered him suspicious of all around him, not excepting his own children; and apprehending that his physician might poison him, he attached him to his interest by the enormous salary of 10,000 crowns per month. While he thus guarded himself against his attendants and his own family, he was equally careful in providing against any attempts that his languid state of health might encourage the exasperated nobility to make. He concealed as much as possible his sickness, and caused reports of his convalescence to be daily circulated. He shut himself up in the castle of Plessis les Tours, which he caused to be encompassed with massive bars of iron, in the form of a grate, with four watch-towers of iron at the four corners. Spikes of iron, set as thick as possible, were fastened into the walls, and cross-bow men placed all around and in the watch-towers. The gate was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down, before eight o'clock in the morning, when the courtiers were permitted to enter; but throughout the whole day, the captains guarded their several posts with a main-guard in the middle of the court, as in a town closely besieged. In this gloomy retreat, where he bid defiance to every mode of outward attack, every secret of medicine, every allurement of the senses, and every invention of superstition was exhausted to promote his recovery, to protract his existence, or procure his salvation. The pope sent him the vest which St. Peter used to wear; the sacred phial which a dove brought from

from heaven was fetched from Rheims to re-anoint him, and a holy hermit was invited from Calabria, whose intercession with Heaven he attempted to purchase by building him two convents.* The powers of music were employed to revive his spirits, and the most beautiful country girls were procured to dance before him to the sound of various instruments for his amusement. In spite, however, of these precautions, Death, that irresistible assailant, whose entrance all his iron bars, walls, and wide ditches, could not prevent, at last made him his prey, A.D. 1483, in the sixty-first year of his age, and the twenty-second of a cruel and bloody reign. Enough has already been said to give a just idea of his character. Unconscionable, cruel, perfidious, and superstitious, he seems to have laid it down as a maxim, that the value of the object sanctified the means of obtaining it, how iniquitous soever they might be; a maxim, according to which, politicians too frequently act. It is worthy of remark, that this monarch, who lived in open violation of the first principles of Christianity, and whose crimes disgraced royalty, was the first of the kings of France who assumed the titles of Majesty and most Christian, which have descended to his successors.†

We have now traced the progress of the French monarchy through the ages of Gothic barbarism, and through the various forms which it has assumed, from the establishment of the Franks until the period in

* Vide Phil. de Com. liv. 6, ch. 21, 22.—N.B. Philip de Commines is an unexceptionable historian of those matters. He was in the service of Louis XI, and considerably in his favour. He generally speaks of him with respect, and owns, that notwithstanding his severity, he found him a good master.

† Russel's Mod. Hist. vol. 2, p. 94.

which

which it became a compact political system. The subsequent part of its history chiefly consists in a repetition of wars and negotiations of little general importance.

Louis XI. was succeeded by his son, Charles VIII. then in the fourteenth year of his age. This monarch annexed Bretagne, by conquest, to the crown of France, and confirmed his title by his marriage with the heiress of that duchy. This was a valuable acquisition to France, as it extinguished a vassal power ever ready to join with the enemies of the crown, and especially as Bretagne was a maritime province, containing some of the best ports in the kingdom, and the most conveniently situated for giving either advantage or annoyance to England, which had, during some centuries, maintained an intimate connection with this duchy.* Charles had many wars of little importance; but his grand expedition into Italy makes a brilliant figure in history, although productive of no permanent effects. This monarch, reviving the ancient claims of the family of Anjou, resolved on the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and undertook this great enterprise with an army of only 20,000 men. But the Italians had lost the use of arms, and amidst the continual hostilities and reciprocal invasions of their petty states, they were strangers to military discipline, and to the operations of regular warfare. Charles, with his small army, traversed Italy with almost as much ease and rapidity as if he had been on a tour of pleasure, passed through Florence and Rome, where he prescribed such terms as he thought necessary, and took possession of the Neapolitan

* Brest, the great naval arsenal, is in this province.

throne without opposition.* But his good fortune was not of long duration. His successes gave rise to a general confederacy of the Italian states, supported by the emperor and their Catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella. The famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Spanish general, recovered the whole kingdom of Naples, and replaced the exiled king Ferdinand on the throne. The expulsion of Charles out of Italy was as rapid as his conquest, and after fighting his way through the superior numbers of the enemy, he made a precipitate retreat into France, where he gave himself up to pastimes and pleasures, during the short remainder of his life, and died without issue, A.D. 1498, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. This prince was quite the reverse of his father Louis XI. being as bold, enterprising, open, generous, and humane, as the latter was timorous, reserved, insidious, and cruel.

Louis, Duke of Orleans, succeeded to the throne by the name of Louis XII. and afterwards acquired the most glorious of all titles, that of the father of his people. It was little expected that this prince, who had strenuously opposed the romantic expedition of his predecessor into Italy, would follow his example; but a particular conjuncture inspired him with the same frenzy. The Duke of Milan had quarrelled with the Venetians; and both these powers courted the alliance of Louis XII. who, besides the claims of the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, had others of his own to the Milanese; and the Emperor Maximilian being then engaged in a war with the Swiss, who had thrown off the Austrian yoke, was not in a

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

condition to oppose his views. Louis, therefore, assembled an army of 20,000 men, and with this inconsiderable force the French, in the space of twenty days, made themselves masters of Milan. The duke, Ludovico Sforza, being betrayed by his Swiss troops, was sent prisoner into France, and confined in the castle of Loches during the rest of his days.* Louis expecting some opposition from Ferdinand, the Catholic king, entered into a treaty with that prince, for the partition of the Neapolitan dominions, which were soon conquered by those two potent confederates. From allies, however, they soon became enemies, and Gonsalvo de Cordova, partly by force and partly by perfidy, expelled the French from their part of the kingdom of Naples, of which he transferred the entire possession to the crown of Spain. Louis once more made an attempt for the recovery of Naples, but being again disappointed by the policy of Ferdinand, and the bravery of the great Captain Gonsalvo de Cordova, he was obliged to content himself with the acquisition of Milan, of which he obtained the investiture, from the Emperor Maximilian. The remainder of his reign was a continued scene of wars, with the Venetians, the Pope, the kings of England and Spain, and the emperor, sometimes alternately, and sometimes against all or most of them at once; and at last he saw almost all Europe combined against him. All these bloody contests made no striking alteration in the state of his kingdom; but he lost the duchy of Milan, and all his Italian acquisitions. Louis XII. died at Paris, A.D. 1525, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, leaving the character of one of the best

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

princes

princes that had sat on the throne of France.* He may deserve censure for engaging in so many rash enterprises; but he must be applauded as an able manager of his revenues; and it may be considered as a kind of political miracle, that, notwithstanding the expensive wars in which he was almost constantly engaged, he imposed no new taxes on his subjects, and greatly diminished the old ones.† It is universally agreed that he loved his subjects and sincerely desired their happiness.

Francis, Count d'Angouleme and Duc de Valois, who succeeded to the crown, A.D. 1525, is famous in history by the name of Francis I. and dignified with the honourable appellation of the father of letters. The whole reign of this prince was a series of alternate wars and negotiations with almost all the different princes of Europe; but especially with Charles V. Emperor of Germany, &c. Henry VIII. of England, the Pope, and other Italian princes. The king of England and the powers of Italy, were alternately his allies and his enemies; but Charles V. was his most dangerous rival, and the grand mover of the whole machine of hostility against France. Francis was, indeed, the only potentate of Europe, who, from the situation and resources of his kingdom, was capable of opposing the exorbitant aggrandisement of the house of Austria. His warlike genius and the chivalrous turn of his mind also prompted him to enter the lists against the most powerful monarch of his age. The rivalship of these two contending princes afford abundance of materials for history, as they gave rise to wars more extensive and durable, as also to political intrigues and negotiations more

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1. † Ibid.

 complicated,

complicated, than had formerly been known in Europe. The system of war and of politics had now undergone a complete change. Fire arms and artillery had superceded the use of the cross-bow and other ancient weapons; and instead of the feudal levies of refractory barons and undisciplined vassals, who could neither be kept long in the field nor be long supported, well trained soldiers were substituted, and regular modes of supply established. Formerly, indeed, the kings of France, as well as other European princes, used to employ bands of professed mercenaries; but as they had not revenues sufficient to keep them in pay, they were often obliged to disband them, or suffer them to live at discretion, when they had the greatest need of their services.* It was only since the reign of Charles VII. that the kings of France had any standing army, and the other princes of Europe immediately followed the example, and adopted the same plan. In the age, therefore, of which we are speaking, it was easier to protract hostilities than at any former period. The balance of power now also first began to attract the attention of the princes of this quarter of the globe, and rendered the system of European politics more complicated and difficult. Our limits do not permit us to detail the military operations, or trace the political intrigues of that age, which now excite little interest. It will be sufficient to trace a few of the most prominent outlines. The first grand cause of the rooted animosity between Francis and Charles, was their competition for the imperial dignity, in which the

* It has already been mentioned, that the troops of Edward III. consisted mostly of foreign mercenaries: his difficulty in paying them has also been noticed.

latter proving successful, his opponent, who professed to wait the decision with the magnanimity of a philosopher, on seeing himself rejected felt all the resentment of disappointed ambition; and an exasperated mind soon found a pretext for a quarrel. Charles and Francis both had their claims in Italy, and the latter resolved to try his fortune on that theatre, on which his predecessors had often gained glory, but seldom any permanent advantage. At the first he had placed great dependence on Henry VIII. of England, but that prince, as well as his minister Wolsey, having been gained by Charles, declared war against Francis. An attempt was made to negotiate a peace; but Francis, not acceding to the terms, saw himself exposed to a grand conspiracy, consisting of England, the Emperor, and all the states of Italy, and left without a single ally to resist the united efforts of so many enemies, whose armies threatened him on every side.* The defection of the Constable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, the most powerful subject of France, and one of the greatest generals of the age, increased the danger of this critical juncture. This illustrious nobleman had many subjects of complaint. Louisa, the king's mother, had conceived a violent aversion against the whole house of Bourbon, and had taught her son to view the constable's actions with an eye of jealousy. His distinguished merit had not been adequately rewarded, and he had met with various subjects of mortification. But what completed his ruin and drove him to revolt, was the sudden change of the queen's passion from hatred to love. On the death of his duchess, she began to regard him with different sentiments, and formed a design of making

* Guicciardini, ch. 15, p. 241.

 him

him her husband. Bourbon, who might have expected from this match, all that an ambitious mind could desire, being incapable of loving, and even scorning to pretend an affection for a woman who had persecuted him so long with unprovoked malice, not only rejected the proposal, but treated it with ridicule. Louisa, in consequence of this disappointment and insult, the bitterest that woman can meet with, was inflamed with resentment, and resolved to make him feel the whole weight of her vengeance. For this purpose she commenced against him an iniquitous suit; and by the chicanery of the chancellor, Du Prat, the duke was stripped of his whole family estate, in virtue of two ill-founded claims, one of which was preferred in her own name, and the other in that of the king. Driven to despair, he had recourse to desperate measures, and entering into a secret correspondence with the Emperor, he offered to transfer to him his allegiance, and to introduce his troops into the heart of France.* Charles received the proposal with rapture, and spared no allurements nor promises to confirm him in his resolution. Francis was then on his march towards Italy; and as soon as he should have passed the Alps, 12,000 Germans were to enter Burgundy, whom the Duke of Bourbon was to join with 6000 men, levied on his own estates. The counties of Dauphine and Provence, with the title of king, were to be his reward for this service. The Emperor engaged to enter France at the same time by the Pyrenées, and their joint operations were to be seconded by an invasion from England. France was now on the brink of destruction; but was preserved by the unexpected discovery of the plot. The

* Thuanus, lib. 1.

Constable of Bourbon made a precipitate flight into Italy, and entering into the Emperor's service, he took a severe revenge for his wrongs, by employing his enterprising genius and military talents against his sovereign and his native country. The plan of the confederates being disconcerted, their consequent operations were completely defeated. The English and Flemish army, under the Duke of Suffolk, having advanced within about thirty-three miles of Paris, was ignominiously driven back by an inferior force commanded by La Trimouille.* The German troops who invaded Burgundy, and the Spaniards who made an irruption into Guienne, were repulsed with equal disgrace; and all Europe began to conceive a high idea of the power and resources of France. That kingdom might now, indeed, have bidden defiance to all its enemies, could its monarch have moderated his ardour for the conquest of Milan. This duchy had been lost by the misconduct of the French generals, and Francis resolved to attempt its recovery. He put himself at the head of his army, and passing the Alps, by the way of Mount Conis, descended into the Milanese. The rapidity of his movements disconcerted all the schemes of defence, which the imperialists had formed; and the city of Milan surrendered at his approach. But this success was only a prelude to his misfortunes. Having, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, laid siege to Pavia, a place of great strength, he committed a fatal error in detaching a body of his army for the invasion of Naples. The imperial generals, in the mean while, were making extraordinary exertions in collecting an army sufficient to oblige him to raise

* Mem. de Bellay, p. 73, 74, 75.

the siege: the Constable of Bourbon, actuated by the most violent resentment against Francis, even pawned his jewels in order to levy troops in Germany, for the reinforcement of the imperial army.* Every mode of attack, and every effort of valour had been, during more than three months, ineffectually employed for the reduction of Pavia; while Antonio de Leyva, the governor, a Spanish officer of great experience and distinguished courage, gained immortal glory in its defence. The garrison, however, was now reduced to extremity, when the imperial army, under the Generals Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon, made its appearance. The most experienced officers in the French army advised the king to retreat, and prudence, indeed, seemed to dictate the propriety of such a measure; but the romantic notions of honour, which that prince had imbibed, prevented him from following this salutary counsel. Having often declared, that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, and regarding it as ignominious to depart from his resolution, this consideration determined him to keep his post, and wait the approach of the enemy.†

The French army was so strongly entrenched, that the imperial generals hesitated a considerable time before they durst venture to begin the attack; but the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own troops, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Never did two armies engage with greater ardour or fight with more determined bravery. The first efforts of French valour made the firmest battalions of the imperialists give way. But the Swiss troops, in the service of France, unmindful of their national reputation, abandoned their post. Leyva,

* Mem. de Bellay, p. 83. † Guic. lib. 15, p. 291.

with

with his garrison, sallied out and attacked the French in the rear, while Pescara falling on their cavalry, with the imperial horse, intermingled with a number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke that formidable body by an unusual and unexpected mode of attack. The route became general. The king, though wounded in several places and dismounted, his horse being killed under him, defended himself with the most heroic courage. Many of his bravest officers fell by his side, and he, himself, quite exhausted and scarcely capable of further resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the furious attacks of some Spanish soldiers, who were ignorant of his rank. At this moment a French gentleman, who had deserted with the Duke of Bourbon, coming up, protected him from their fury. Francis, however, in his last extremity rejected with indignation, the proposal of surrendering himself to Bourbon, his rebellious subject; and calling for Lannoy, delivered him his sword.*

Thus terminated the famous battle of Pavia, one of the most fatal that France records in her history. The loss in men amounted to more than 10,000 besides a great number of prisoners. It was fought on the 24th February 1525, and was immediately followed by the total expulsion of the French out of Italy. Francis was immediately conveyed to the strong castle of Pizzichitoné near Cremona, and from thence was at his own request carried into Spain, where the Emperor then resided. He immediately wrote to his mother a laconic epistle, containing only these words "Madam, all his lost except our honour." The whole kingdom was now filled with consternation. France

* Guic. lib. 15. 292. Mem de Bellay p. 90.

without a king, without an army, without money in her treasury to pay, or generals to command one, seemed to be on the verge of destruction. But on this occasion, the abilities and prudence of Louisa saved the kingdom, which her passions had sometimes endangered. The nobles were immediately assembled, and every measure was taken by the court, which so critical an emergency required. The king of England and the princes of Italy, began to take the alarm at the exhorbitant power of the Emperor, and to turn their attention to the political balance of Europe. Various negotiations were commenced, which had the liberty of the French king for their object. A treaty was at last concluded, and Francis was obliged to subscribe to conditions, which he never intended to fulfil. That monarch, after eleven months of rigorous confinement, was liberated, and set out from Madrid for his kingdom, which he entered a year and twenty two days after the battle of Pavia.* The Emperor did not delay to require, nor the king to refuse the fulfilment of the treaty, their former animosities recommenced and continued with little interruption during the remainder of this reign. No important effects, however, were produced on the power or the politics of the kingdom by these concussions; and at the death of this monarch, which happened A.D. 1547, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third year of his reign, France, notwithstanding her long wars and great losses, was potent and flourishing.

The character of Francis is generally known, and, indeed, presents little difficulty in its investigation. He was ambitious and enterprising, but inconsiderate. His personal valour could scarcely be excelled; but

* Recueil des traites tom. 2 p. 107—Guic. lib. 16. p. 355.

he

he seemed little acquainted with stratagem, and cannot be classed among fortunate warriors. His courage partook of the romantic spirit of chivalry, and was seldom directed by sound policy. He possessed in an eminent degree, all the qualifications of the soldier, but was deficient in many of those which are requisite to the general. His encouragement of learning, and his patronage of learned men, were the most brilliant traits of his character, and render his name and his reign conspicuous in history. Living in the very time of the revival of letters, he seized an opportunity so favorable to his future fame, and shared with Leo X, the glory of collecting what had escaped the ravages of barbarians, and of making the arts and sciences flourish in Europe.* Francis was not the father of letters alone; he might with equal propriety be styled the father of politeness; and whatever might be his qualifications as a prince and a politician, he was the most accomplished gentleman in his dominions. In the reign of Louis XII, Anne de Bretagne began to bring the ladies to court; but it was not till the reign of Francis I, that they made that brilliant appearance, which rendered the French court the gayest and most splendid in Europe. This prince also invited the most distinguished persons of his kingdom, ecclesiastical as well as secular to Paris, in order to increase the splendor of his court and polish the manners of his courtiers.† The tournaments and other diversions of this reign displayed a magnificence superior to any thing of the kind seen in Europe since the days of Edward III, king of England. A circumstance related by the Mareschal de Fleurange,

* Hen. 1. p. 382.—Robertson's, ch. 5. vol. 3. 429.

† Hen. vol. 1. 383.

which took place at the celebrated interview between Francis and Henry VIII. of England, in a plain near Ardres, where the two kings and their attendants displayed the magnificence of that age, with such emulation and profuse expence, as to procure it the name of the field of Cloth of Gold, will serve to mark the difference between the manners of the sixteenth century, and those of the present times. The Mareschal de Fleurange, who was present, relates that " after the tournament, the French and English wrestlers made their appearance and wrestled in the presence of the two kings and the ladies, and as there were many stout wrestlers there, it afforded excellent pastime; but as the king of France had neglected to bring any wrestlers out of Bretagne the English gained the prize."—" After this," continues the same writer, " the kings of France and England retired to a tent, where they drank together, and the king of England seizing the king of France by the collar, said ' my brother, I must wrestle with you,' and endeavoured once or twice to trip up his heels; but the king of France, who is a dextrous wrestler, twisted him round and threw him to to the earth with prodigious violence. The king of England wanted to renew the contest, but was prevented."* According to modern ideas such a transaction would seem more suitable to a couple of rustics, than to two of the greatest princes in Europe; but manners are liable to continual variations.

Commerce as well as letters began in this age to contribute to the civilization of Europe. The mines of America were beginning to pour in their wealth, which was gradually circulated. The ideas of men being enlarged, they became quicker in perceiving

* Mem. de Fleurange ap. Robertson Hist. ch. 5. vol. 2. p. 110.

their

their wants, which commerce and arts alone could supply; and the intercourse among nations being encouraged and extended, their sentiments became more liberal, and their manners more polished. Francis was a patron of commerce as well as of science and literature, and amidst the continued series of martial transactions, which occupied his reign, it first began to dawn in France. Her silk manufacture, her Newfoundland fishery, and her trade with Turkey and Sweden were established. Her buccaneers also began to plunder the Spanish settlements and her first colony was planted in Canada.*

Francis I. was succeeded by his son Henry II, the history of whose reign consists of nothing but a series of unimportant wars and negotiations. It may, however, be mentioned to his eternal disgrace, that he published a decree, subjecting to the penalty of death, those who professed the Lutheran religion, accompanied with strict orders to the judges, not to mitigate the penalty, as was generally the practice, and that some of the councellors of the parliament of Paris, having declared that it would not be wrong to connive at the escape of such a person, he came to the house and ordered five of them to be taken into custody.† This prince was accidentally killed in a tournament held on the occasion of the nuptials of his daughter with Philip II. of Spain, and of his sister with the Duke of Savoy. This tragical event happened in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, His character is not distinguished by any remarkable feature. It may not be amiss to observe that we have an accurate account of the magnitude of Paris at this

* And Hist. Com. vol. 2. 41, 52, 67, 61, 66, 68, 73.

† Mem. de Castelman, liv. 1. ch. 3.

time

time. In the second year of his reign A.D. 1549, he caused the dwelling houses of Paris to be numbered; when they were found to amount to upwards of 10,000 exclusive of convents, colleges, &c.

Francis II, only sixteen years of age, ascended the throne of France; and though his short reign of seventeen months was not marked by any important event, it was pregnant with all those mischiefs which afterwards proved so disastrous to the kingdom. The immature age of Francis, the ambition and rivalry of the Guises, the prince of Condé, and other nobles, with the difference in religious opinions, which the reformation had introduced and the factions made use of as specious pretexts for covering the most pernicious designs, formed a concurrence of circumstances that rendered the court of France during his reign a hot-bed of rebellion, of which the plants were matured under those of his successors.

This prince dying, A. D. 1560, was succeeded by his brother Charles IX, then only ten years of age. His reign, which during his minority, was under the regency and afterwards under the direction of his mother the famous Catherine de Medicis,was a continued scene of treasons, revolts, civil wars, religious tyranny and political perfidy. The contests, of which religion was the ostensible, but ambition the real, cause, restored to the nobles in a great measure, the powers which they had formerly possessed under the feudal system; and a factious courtier had only to pretend to embrace the protestant religion, and to profess himself a leader of that party, to have an army at his disposal. The bigotted Catholics and protestants, incapable of penetrating the designs of their chiefs, crowded to their standards, rushed into battle and shed their blood, not

for

for the glory of God, as they foolishly imagined, but to promote the ambitious views of a Condé, a Guise, or a Montmorenci. Fourteen armies at one time desolated France. Where the protestants prevailed, the altars were defaced, the images where broken, the churches and monasteries pillaged and demolished: where the Catholics were victorious, the bibles were burned, and the infants re-baptized. Plunder, desolation and bloodshed equally attended the triumphs of both parties. The theological rage, which according to the remark of an elegant writer, had long been boiling in men's viens, seems, in the reign of Charles IX, to have obtained its last stage of virulence.* No crimes were omitted that could be of service to either party. Treason, perfidy and murder, were the engines, which both Catholics and protestants used to advance the cause of religion. The Duke of Guise was assassinated at the seige of Orleans by Poltrot, whose fanatical zeal for protestantism instigated him to that atrocious crime.† But this act of sanguinary zeal, committed by a protestant bigot,sinks under a comparison with the bloody massacre of the Hugonots at Paris, effected by Catholic tyranny, on the eve of St. Bartholomew 1572, a transaction which never had, and it is sincerely to be hoped will never have, a parallel. The heads of that party being invited to Paris at the celebration of the nuptials of the king of Navarre with Margaret the French king's sister, were barbarously murdered. There fell on this lamentable occasion about 500 persons of rank, among whom was the celebrated Admiral Coligne, whose virtues and ablities have rendered his name famous in the history of France, besides an immense number of inferior note.

* Hume ch. 39. † Mezeray tom. 5.

In

In Paris alone, near 10,000 persons of every age, sex, and condition, were involved in one indiscriminate massacre; and the same barbarous orders being sent into all parts of the kingdom, a similar carnage took place in several other cities.* How pleasing would it be, if impartial history could draw over those calamitous times, and those scenes of horror, the veil of eternal oblivion? It is, however, to be remarked, as a circumstance honourable to human nature, that there were some governors in France who had the courage and probity not to execute the detestable orders of the court, and were shocked at the idea of advancing the cause of religion by murder.† Among these were the Counts de Teude and de Charny, Messrs. de St. Herand, Taneguy le Veneur, De Gordes, De Mandelot, D'Ortres, &c. names which history ought to transmit, in letters of gold, to posterity. To exhibit a concentrated view of the calamities of this reign, it suffices to say, that the horrors of four civil wars compose its annals. Besides the Duke of Guise, the scourge of the Hugonots, who fell by assassination, the constable de Montmorenci, the greatest of the Catholic commanders, and the Prince de Condé, the chief of the Protestant leaders, both fell in battle, the former at St. Denis, the latter at Jarnac.‡ Charles IX. died A.D. 1574, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. His character has been variously represented, but his actions furnish the best criterion. He was a lover and a promoter of learning; he had a taste for the polite arts, and his poetical talents were far from being con-

* Davila, lib. 5. P. Daniel, tom. 4.
† Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.
‡ Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1. p. 420 and 424.

temptible;

temptible; but it appears that these elegant accomplishments had not humanized his ferocious mind. Apologists have attempted to vindicate his character, by attributing his conduct to religious bigotry, united to a pernicious system of policy, and the machinations of his mother Catharine de Medicis; but on such principles an excuse, as well as a pretext, may be found for every crime. If he fired on his own subjects in the Bartholomew massacre, and by the repeated cries of " kill, kill," excited the fury of the destroyers; and if he inspected with delight the execution of two Hugonots who had escaped the general carnage, as one of his apologists confesses,* he certainly ought to be considered as the Nero of modern history. In this reign Paris contained 100,000 inhabitants, besides strangers, servants, and churchmen.†

Charles was succeeded by his brother Henry III, formerly Duke of Anjou, who had been elected to the crown of Poland, but on receiving intelligence of the death of the French monarch, returned to take possession of his patrimonial inheritance. All the evils of the preceding reign were repeated in this, and the civil wars broke out with unabated violence. The great nobles and governors of provinces, assumed a power nearly equal to that which they enjoyed at the accession of Hugh Capet, and parties were so equally balanced, that the royal authority, though reduced to a name, was often sufficient to turn the scale. This reign is famous for the holy league formed for the defence of the Catholic religion. To balance this confederacy, which had the Duke of Guise at its head, the Hugonots ranged themselves under the Prince of

* Hist. kings of France, of the house of Valois, vol. 2.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 36.

of Conde, and the Duc. d'Alençon the king's brother. The league was supported by Philip II. of Spain, and the Hugonots by the princes of Germany. Several bloody engagements took place, in which the military abilities of the king of Navarre, and the Duke of Guise, were conspicuously displayed. The latter at last entered Paris, in defiance of the royal prohibition, and the king found himself obliged to retire, and leave him in possession of his capital.* The duke was now become all powerful, and as the League had set aside the king of Navarre's succession, Henry plainly perceived that he aimed at the crown. The Duke of Guise was a man of consummate abilities, equally adapted to the cabinet or the field; and being the idol of the Parisians, saw himself placed in circumstances nearly similar to those which Pepin turned so greatly to his advantage. And Henry, weak, superstitious, and profligate, bore a near resemblance to the kings of the first race. This prince, however, resolving to rid himself of an ambitious and enterprising subject, adopted a measure unworthy of a great monarch. Having invited the Duke of Guise to a conference, he caused both him and his brother the Cardinal to be inhumanly murdered. This infamous action, however, produced effects very different from his expectations. The Leaguers, then masters of Paris, declared that the king had forfeited his title to the crown, and a decree of the Sorbonne released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The Duke de Mayenne, brother to the Duke de Guise, was declared chief of the League, with the title of Lieut. Gen. of the kingdom of France, and the Duke d'Aumale was made governor of Paris. In this extremity Henry

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

seeing

seeing himself abandoned by his Catholic subjects, entered into a confederacy with the king of Navarre and the Protestants, and being still supported by many of the nobility and princes of the blood, he was enabled to raise an army of near 40,000 men. With this formidable force the two kings invested Paris; but while they were occupied in the siege, Henry was assassinated by James Clement, a Dominican friar, who was instantly put to death by the guards. Thus this monarch, by whose command the Duke and the Cardinal of Guise had been assassinated on the 23d December, 1588, fell himself by the hand of an assassin, on the 1st of August following, a just retribution of Divine Providence, although no excuse for the regicide.

The death of Henry III. left the succession open to the king of Navarre. That prince, however, by reason of the desertion of his troops, soon found himself obliged to raise the siege of Paris, and to retire into Normandy. The Duke de Mayenne proclaimed the Cardinal de Bourbon king by the name of Charles X, and immediately left the capital to pursue the king of Navarre. This prince, however, gained an important victory over the duke at Ivri, and again invested Paris; but the Duke of Parma hastening from the Netherlands to its relief, he was compelled a second time to raise the siege.* Henry afterwards made several other unsuccessful attempts on the capital, and at last was fully convinced that he could never obtain the crown by force. He received considerable support from Queen Elizabeth, but this was more than counterbalanced by the opposition that he met with from Spain, as king Philip had nothing less in view

* Davila, lib. 11. P. Daniel, tom. 9.

than to dismember the kingdom, or to annex it to his own dominions. At last, after a multitude of jarrings, negotiations, and political manœuvres, among the different factions, and after a war of five years, in which Henry was often reduced to the greatest distress, without money to pay his troops, and frequently in want of the common conveniencies of life, he took the resolution of embracing the Catholic religion. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the Pope to request absolution for the king; but their negotiations were considerably impeded by the machinations of Philip II, who, in defiance to the Salique law, had proposed to the states of the kingdom to place the crown of France on the head of his daughter the Infanta Eugenia, as the nearest relation of Henry III. The ambassadors, however, at last succeeded, and the absolution was granted. Henry soon after made his abjuration at St. Denis, and received absolution from the Archbishop of Bourgues.* The principal barrier which prevented his accession to the throne being now removed, every thing tended towards a speedy pacification. Henry was received into Paris, from whence the Spanish troops in the service of the League retired, with the most obstinate members of that confederacy; and in less than four years, all the provinces that refused to acknowledge his title being reduced, he obtained the full possession of his kingdom. One of the first acts of his government was the famous edict of Nantes, in favour of the Protestants, to whom he had been in a great measure indebted for his advancement to the throne. But Henry, although in peaceable possession of the crown, found himself involved in numberless difficulties. The state

* Davila, lib. 14.

was burdened with debts, the country desolate, and the people oppressed with poverty. The nobility, from long habits of rebellion and disorder, had lost all sense of allegiance or legal subordination. They despised the royal authority, and sported with the lives and property of the people. Happily, however, for France, she had now a prince every way qualified to remedy those numerous evils. To this grand object he directed his attention, and by the assistance of his prudent and indefatigable minister Sully, his endeavours were crowned with all the success that could be expected, in the course of one reign, commenced under circumstances so extremely disadvantageous. This reign, however, although not of very long duration, forms one of the most memorable epochs in the history of France. During the space of almost a century, Spain had enjoyed a manifest superiority over the other kingdoms of Europe, but France now began to gain the ascendancy. Historians attribute to this prince a grand but romantic scheme for uniting Europe in one great commonwealth, composed of fifteen associated states, with France for its centre and head. This vast, but extravagant plan, which is exhibited in Sully's memoirs, seems to have been rather a pleasing reverie of the imagination, than a serious design. Henry might amuse himself with so splendid an idea, but he must have considered it as too chimerical to be realized. In his scheme of humbling the house of Austria, however, he appeared to have been serious, and it is certain that he was revolving great designs, when he was assassinated by Ravaillac a furious bigot, who, stepping upon the wheel of his carriage, while it was obstructed in one of the narrow streets of Paris, and reaching over the Duke d'Espernon's

non's shoulder, stabbed the king to the heart amidst six more of his courtiers. The assassin never attempted to escape, and persisted to the last, that it was entirely his own act, and that he had no accomplice.

Thus fell Henry IV, the father of his people, and one of the chief founders of the present greatness of France. In his person, all the qualifications of the politician and the warrior, were eminently united; but what is still more to his honour, he combined with the policy of the statesman, and the bravery of the soldier, an inexhaustible fund of humanity. In private life he was remarkable for frankness, affability, and an engaging simplicity of manners. His only foible was his inordinate attachment to the sex, which led him into many irregularities. His tragical death happened A.D. 1610, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign.

Agriculture and commerce began to flourish under Henry's auspicious reign. France now began to see her desolated fields again brought into cultivation; and the manufactures established in the time of Francis I, which the civil wars had almost annihilated, began to revive. The age of Henry IV. may be considered as the æra of the manufacturing system of France. Manufactures of linen and tapestry were established at a great expence. The workmen for the former were drawn from the United Provinces, and for the latter, from the Spanish Netherlands. The making of glass and fine earthen ware was also attempted with success. But the manufacture of silk was that from which France derived the greatest advantage. It had first been established in the reign of Francis I, about A.D. 1521, being introduced from Milan;

Milan; and all the materials were brought from Italy. Some time after, silk worms began to be reared in the southern provinces. They prospered exceedingly in Lyonnois and Touraine; these indeed seem to be their northern limits. In the vicinity of Paris, the culture of silk has often been attempted without success. Henry introduced numbers of silk worms from Spain, and caused books to be written for the purpose of instructing his subjects in regard to their management.* The success answered his expectation, and he soon had the satisfaction of seeing the silk manufactures of France, supply not only the home consumption which was exceedingly great, but also a considerable exportation, which brought great sums of money into the kingdom. In this reign, about A.D. 1601, the French began to trade to India. The first vessels for that voyage were fitted out by the merchants of St. Maloes † The age of Henry IV, however, exhibits only the commencement of a well regulated political system, and the dawnings of commerce after a series of civil wars, and a scene of anarchy; but its improvements bore no proportion to those of succeeding times. An ingenious writer of the last century, says, that this prince did not possess a single ship, that at his death the state was without money, and the government without credit; that the revenue of Louis XIII. his successor, did not exceed 45,000,000 of livres, equal to about 85,000,000 of the present money of France; that the roads were impassable, and the towns under no regulation; and that the whole body of the nobility were fortified throughout the provinces in their respective castles,

* Thuanus, lib. 129.   † And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 201.

surrounded with deep ditches, and oppressed the laborious peasants. The same author adds, that Henry IV. was endeavouring to recover France from this state of barbarism when he was assassinated in his capital, in the midst of a people whom he would have rendered happy.* His prime minister the Duke de Sully, however, whose means of information were certainly superior to those of any succeeding writer, tells us in his memoirs, that the king had only about sixteen ships of war at Brest and Rochelle, and twenty gallies in the ports of the Mediterranean. But although Voltaire be more remarkable for the vivacity of his style, than for the accuracy of his details, it must be acknowledged that the state of France under Henry IV. will appear flourishing only in a comparison with the preceding, not with the subsequent times. It must also be confessed, that in this reign the manners of the court and the kingdom were extremely corrupt. Never were licentious gallantry and duelling carried to greater excess.†

Louis XIII. being a minor not yet nine years of age, the regency was placed in the hands of the dowager queen Mary de Medicis. His minority was one continued scene of troubles. The demon of discord again returned, and France relapsed into that state of confusion, from which it had been recovered by his predecessor. The queen's Italian ministers engrossed all the power, and enjoyed all the emoluments of the state; while the nobles, discontented with the measures of the court, broke out into open rebellion. Concini, the prime minister, was murdered in the royal palace. His wife, who had an uncontroled as-

* Voltaire introduc. au Siecle de Louis XIV.

† Sully's mem. liv. 25.

cendancy

cendancy over the regent, being accused of sorcery and magic, was tried and condemned to death by the parliament. Being asked by what spell she had fascinated the queen mother, she nobly replied, "by that superiority which a strong mind has ever over a weak one." The regent was immediately confined to her apartments, and afterwards exiled to Blois. While the court was a chaos of intrigue and cabal, a civil war was kindled equal in violence to any of the former. The Hugonots taking umbrage at some of the kings proceedings, and concluding that their destruction was intended, held a consultation at Rochelle, in which they came to a resolution of following the example of the Netherlands, in throwing off the royal authority and establishing an independent republic, of which Rochelle was to be the capital. The war, however, was no sooner commenced, than several of the Protestant leaders, seduced by bribes and promises, deserted their party. But the Duke of Rohan and his brother Soubise, both men of distinguished abilities, still remained at their head. After a series of hostilities conducted with various success, a peace was concluded, in which the Protestants obtained nothing more than a confirmation of the edict of Nantes.* This was the state of things when Cardinal Richelieu began to figure on the political theatre. From his transcendant genius and resolute measures, the government of France soon received new vigour. This consummate statesman no sooner got the whole administration into his own hands, than taking a comprehensive view of the state of Europe, and examining every part of its political system, he formed three grand projects to subdue the turbulent

* Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 2.

and

and rebellious spirit of the French nobility, to reduce the refractory Hugonots and to check the exorbitant power of the house of Austria.

It is not consistent with the plan of this work to trace the manœuvres, by which he carried all those vast designs successfully into execution. The grand outlines of his foreign politics were peace with England, war with Spain and Austria, and alliance with the king of Sweden and the Protestants of Germany. In conformity to these plans, he negotiated the marriage between the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. and Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII. On the same principles he supported the Protestants of Germany against the house of Austria, after having reduced those of France, and paid to Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 livres; in consideration of which Gustavus engaged to maintain in Germany an army of 36,000 men, to carry on the war against the Emperor. This treaty, which is considered as a masterpiece of policy, contained several other articles, which all do honour to the vast genius of Richelieu.* But what is the most extraordinary in an ecclesiastic, his martial abilities were scarcely inferior to his political sagacity. The siege of Rochelle, which the cardinal conducted in person, is esteemed a masterpiece of military operation. The place was enclosed with lines of circumvallation, and closely blockaded on the land side; but the citizens, although only feebly supported by the English, being animated by religious zeal, and abundantly provided with military stores, were determined to hold out to the last extremity. Their obstinate resistance baffled every effort of the besiegers; and

* Loudorp. Act. pub. tom. 4.

Richelieu

Richelieu, finding it impossible to take Rochelle while the communication remained open by sea, attempted by several methods to shut up the harbour. But these proving ineffectual, he recollected the expedient which Alexander adopted at the siege of Tyre, and accordingly projected and completed a mole of a mile in length across a gulph, into which the sea rolled with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to all the works that the ingenuity and labour of man could construct. The town being now completely blockaded by land and by sea, the inhabitants, after suffering all the miseries of war accompanied with a most dreadful famine, during a siege of almost twelve months, were at last obliged to surrender, on condition of retaining the possession of their goods and the free exercise of their religion; but their fortifications were demolished. The cardinal immediately marched into the other provinces, where the Hugonots were still formidable, and every where defeated them. At length, seeing no hopes of being able to continue the struggle, they had recourse to negotiation; and a peace was concluded on terms as moderate as could be expected. The Protestants were left in possession of their estates as well as personal property, and of the free exercise of their religion, as granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were dispossessed of their fortified places and cautionary towns. This was the final annihilation of the Hugonots, considered as a political party. In all those religious wars, as they are preposterously called, the leaders were continually changing sides, adopting the Catholic or the Protestant cause, as passion impelled or interest induced them to act, while the people were invariably the dupes and the sufferers.

The

The capture of Rochelle had completed the subjection of Protestants; but the cardinal had a not less difficult task in subduing the refractory spirit of the Catholic nobles. After a variety of cabals, conspiracies, and revolts, followed with some signal executions on the scaffold, the bold and ambitious spirit of Richelieu triumphed over every obstacle. His penetrating genius discovered and dissipated all the plots formed against him, and his resolute measures rendered him absolute master of the king and the kingdom. He also carried on the wars against Spain with great vigour. In the year 1636, the Spanish army from the Netherlands advanced as far as Corbie, and an attack on Paris was daily expected. On this occasion an army of 20,000 men was raised, chiefly among the lacqueys and apprentices of that capital.* In 1636, France had no less than six armies in the field in different quarters.

Louis XIII. died A.D. 1643, in the 42d year of his age, after a reign of thirty-three years. His minister, Richelieu, died the preceding year aged fifty-eight. Louis was not deficient in natural abilities, and was endowed with great personal courage, which he manifested on various occasions in the wars against the Hugonots; but his glory was eclipsed by that of his minister. Cardinal Richelieu was one of the most distinguished statesmen that ever appeared on the political theatre. His comprehensive mind embraced every part of the most intricate system. He had always the whole of his plan in contemplation, and never lost sight of one circumstance that could either retard or forward its progress. The greatness of his designs could only be equalled by his decisive

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 2.

manner

manner of carrying them into execution; and both have entitled him to the admiration of Europe. The czar, Peter the Great, when he paid a visit to Paris, seeing the mausoleum of this minister, asked whose it was, and on being told it was that of Cardinal Richelieu, the view of this grand object threw him into an enthusiastic rapture. He ran to the statue, and embracing it, exclaimed, "Oh! that thou wert still living: I would give thee one-half of my empire to govern the other!"* Peter would undoubtedly have highly valued such a minister as Richelieu: the bold projects and decisive measures of the French politician, would have been perfectly adapted to the genius and circumstances of the founder of the Russian greatness. From the æra of Richelieu's administration, we may date the complete aggrandisement of the French monarchy in latter times, as well as the despotism of its constitution. That authority which Louis XI. had acquired over the great, and his immediate successors preserved, had been lost during the religious wars; which, dividing the strength of the kingdom, exposed it to foreign enemies and domestic factions. But the Hugonots being humbled, the refractory and independent nobles were brought under submission to the sovereign authority; and France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe.

The commercial, as well as political importance of France may from this æra date, if not its origin, at least its aggrandisement, and Richelieu's administration gave rise to her naval power. Being made superintendant general of the trade and navigation of that kingdom, he immediately resolved to keep

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 2.

in constant pay three squadrons of ships of war, one in the Ocean, another in the Mediterranean, and a third always ready in the ports to furnish convoys to merchantment. At that time France had no maritime force, the civil wars having caused the navy to be totally neglected. In the year 1637, a French naval force, consisting of upwards of fifty ships of war and twenty gallies defeated the Spanish fleet, and captured five large ships, twenty-two galleasses, and eighteen smaller vessels. On this occasion the celebrated motto,

" Florent lilia quoque ponto."*

was placed on the stern of the largest French ship of war, with no small degree of propriety, as this was the first time that France acquired a superiority over Spain on the ocean. After this victory, Richelieu proceeded so successfully in destroying the Spanish marine, that little remained of its formidable power; and demonstrated to the world, that the lilies of France would flourish at sea as well as on land. At his death, he left France possessed of 100 ships of war and gallies, with a competent stock of naval stores in the royal arsenals. He had also wrested the province of Roussillon from Spain and annexed it to France, and doubled the national revenue.† In this reign, Martinique and Guadaloupe began to be colonized. Commerce was extended, and France abounded with rich manufactures, which furnished a variety of articles for exportation. Not only politics and commerce, but literature and the arts were likewise objects of Richelieu's attention. To this minister the Academie Françoise owed its foundation;

* " The lilies flourish at sea as well as land."

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. 336. 366. 370.

and

and the measures which he took for the refinement of the French language, contributed in no small degree to render it of general use in all the courts of Europe.

Louis XIV. ascended the throne of France, A.D. 1643. His minority, like that of his father, was agitated by intestine commotions, by the factions of the great, by divisions between the court and the parliament, and by all the evils attendant on a feeble administration. The kingdom was at once involved in foreign and domestic wars. But the queen mother, who had the direction of affairs, having chosen the Cardinal de Mazarine for her principal minister, that consummate statesman, who was Richelieu's pupil, and followed his steps, after many violent struggles, at length succeeded in establishing the public tranquillity.* He not only had the address to turn the arms of Cromwell against Spain, but he also found means to divide the domestic enemies of the court so effectually among themselves, as to dissolve all their confederacies, and extinguish all opposition to his measures. By the masterly politics of this second Richelieu, Louis XIV. on assuming the reins of government, found himself the most absolute monarch that had ever reigned over France.

The history of this reign involves that of all Europe; and most of its principal foreign transactions have been related in treating of the affairs of England. We shall therefore confine ourselves chiefly to a few concise remarks on the internal affairs of France, during this important period. Louis XIV. was almost continually engaged in wars either with England, Holland, or the house of Austria, and sometimes with

* Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 2.

all these powers combined. On the side of Germany he was generally successful. He reduced Holland to the last extremity; and, for a time, disputed the sovereignty of the seas with England. His successes and his power were so great, that he became formidable to all Europe: and the exorbitant aggrandizement of France excited the same apprehensions, as that of the house of Austria had done in the preceding century. His grand project of placing the crown of Spain on the head of his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, gave rise to that famous confederacy which rendered the latter part of his reign as disastrous as the former had been prosperous and splendid. The actions and character of Louis XIV. have been much over-rated by the historians of his own nation. Dazzled with the splendor of his reign, they have lavished on him the most extravagant eulogiums, and compared his exploits to those of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity. But he was never placed in such situations as could furnish to the world a just criterion for judging of his personal abilities, either as a statesman or a warrior. All was performed by his ministers and generals; and his judicious choice of these is the best proof of his political sagacity. When the measures of his government, however, are examined, we shall find some capital errors as well as masterly strokes of policy. Nothing could be more impolitic as well as unjust, than his revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the expulsion of the Protestants; which gave a fatal blow to the manufactures of his kingdom, and by which France sustained a loss that more than counterbalanced all the advantages she derived from his victories, which were gained at the expence of so much blood and treasure. The separation of Spain from

from the house of Austria, and the placing a prince of the house of Bourbon on its throne, was certainly a grand design; giving rise to a family alliance, instead of those opposite interests and that inveterate animosity which had so long subsisted, and produced so many expensive and bloody wars between the two kingdoms. That project, however, would probably have failed in its execution, had not the Archduke Charles of Austria obtained the imperial dignity, and England concluded the treaty of Utrecht. In this reign, however, the kingdom of France acquired the greatest extent to which it ever attained. Its trade and marine were also, by the successive efforts of Mazarine and Colbert, especially the latter, carried to the highest pitch. From the peace of Nimeguen, A.D. 1678, to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, A.D. 1685, France was in the meridian of her commercial as well as political greatness. In the year 1683, the amount of the different branches of her revenue was computed at 215,566,663 livres, or about 10,500,000*l*. sterling.* Such were the great effects of the judicious plans formed by Colbert. From that time the expulsion of the Protestants, who carried their ingenuity and industry into foreign countries to the great detriment of the French manufactures, and the ambition of Louis draining the country of men and money to extend his conquests, concurred to cause the decline of the commerce and opulence of the kingdom. A writer of the last century asserts, that the annual expenditure of Louis XIV. during his long reign amounted, one year with another, to 14,000,000*l*. sterling.† Had he confined his political views to the culture of the arts of peace, and the en-

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2, 561. † Voltaire Siecle de Louis 14. tom. 2.

 couragement

couragement of manufactures and trade, instead of extending his dominions by unjust conquests, he would have increased his maritime strength and improved his American colonies. France would, by such a policy have been rendered more happy, more populous, and more opulent. Posterity, however, will not refuse to the memory of this prince its tribute of respect for his patronage of science, literature, and the arts. His reign was the Augustan age of France. His court and his capital were the rendezvous of the learned, and the temples of genius. The royal palaces, especially that of Versailles, the façade of the Louvre, and the various embellishments which the city of Paris received during his reign, are monuments of his manificence, and splendid specimens of the state of the arts at that period. And his munificence to men of genius and learning, will reflect a lustre on his name when his ambitious politics and military enterprises shall be consigned to oblivion, or regarded with contempt. This monarch died A.D. 1715, in the seventy-eighth year of his age and the sixty-third of his reign, the longest recorded in history. In his last moments he shewed a greatness of mind worthy of his elevated station.* Observing the tears of his attendants, he said, "My friends, why do you weep? Did you ever think me immortal?"

Louis XIV. was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV, who was yet in his non-age; and his minority was threatened with a repetition of the former evils. But the Duke of Orleans, a man of talents and spirit, seizing the regency, preserved the tranquillity of the kingdom. After Louis assumed the government, al-

* Henry IV. was a great king; Louis XIV. was an excellent actor of a great king. Moor's French Revolution, vol. 1. p. 4.

though the situation of the affairs of Europe sometimes embroiled him with the house of Austria, the first part of his reign was generally pacific, until the connection between France and Spain induced the former to join with the latter in the war against Great Britain, which was terminated, A.D. 1748, by the peace of Aix-la-chapelle. In 1757, the life of the French monarch was attempted by a frantic wretch, named Damien, who stabbed him between the ribs as he was entering his coach in the dusk of the evening. The incoherent declarations of the assassin afforded a strong presumption of the derangement of his intellects; and the tortures inflicted on him would have filled the hearts of savages with horror. After human ingenuity was exhausted in devising new torments, the unhappy maniac was torn to pieces by horses. The horrid execution of this frantic regicide forms a striking contrast with the singular lenity exercised towards the wretch who, some years ago, attempted the life of his present Britannic majesty. No comment is here necessary to shew the difference between British and foreign tribunals.

The foreign politics and military transactions of this reign, being almost wholly included in our historical account of England, it is unnecessary to detail them here. Among the principal internal occurrences may be reckoned the visionary and disastrous scheme of the Mississippi company projected by Mr. Law, a goldsmith's son of Edinburgh, for the purpose of consolidating the different public stocks. By this plan Mr. Law promised to pay off the national debt, and to carry to the highest pitch the commerce and wealth of France. In order to draw in the numerous creditors of the crown, to be paid with the Mississippi

stock and royal bank-notes, Mr. Law was, in the commencement of the year 1719, made Director-general of the Bank, and, in a few months, created between 40,000,000*l*. and 50,000,000*l*. in new bank-notes. To perfect the plan, he persuaded the regent to unite the East and West India Companies with that of the Mississippi, which after this union assumed the name of the India Company.* In the month of July, the capital of this new India Company rose considerably above par, and the great number of adventurers rendered the Rue de Quinquempoix an uncommon scene of bustle and speculation. A great part of the first stock is said to have been subscribed by government, and by Mr. Law on the Company's behalf. Through the madness of speculation, this stock sold out at above 1,000*l*. per cent. which consequently brought vast sums into the king's coffers, and enabled the Company also to extend its concerns. For the further promoting of the sale of subscriptions, the last 50,000,000*l*. of India stock was divided into small shares, which drew in the lowest of the people to become adventurers; and the stocks immediately rose 500*l*. per cent. The Company then undertook the general farm of the revenues, for which they obtained a grant for fifty years, and agreed to lend 50,000,000*l*. sterling to the crown, for the payment of the national debt. They also agreed to pay 50,000,000 of livres for the exclusive privilege of the coinage of money for nine years; and by an arret, the public creditors were permitted to take shares of India stock in payment of their several debts. Those glittering baits were too alluring not to be swallowed by the people of France. The public debt was soon discharged with

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 84.

 the

the Company's paper. All the fine stories propagated by Law and his emissaries, were readily believed; and the enthusiasm of speculation pervaded all ranks of society. In a few weeks more, the stocks ran up to 1,200*l*. per cent. and 150,000,000*l*. were added to the Company's capital, by different subscriptions, at 1,000*l*. per cent.* A false appearance of extraordinary wealth, was now observed at Paris; and crowds of strangers, from almost all the countries of Europe, resorted thither to share in this fascinating trade, which was carried on with such enthusiastic ardor, that the stocks continued rising by hundreds per cent. sometimes in one day. There were now in Paris 300,000,000 of livres in imaginary wealth, which, bearing a price of 1,200*l*. per cent. amounted to near 18,000,000,000*l*. sterling; a sum, says Mr. Anderson, which, perhaps, was near 180 times as much as the circulating cash of all Europe.† From the commencement of the month of November, 1719, to the middle of December, the dazzling meteor was in its meridian; and it was computed that the number of strangers, resident in Paris, was 500,000 more than usual! Above 1,200 new coaches were set up; and scarcely any thing was to be seen but new and splendid equipages, finery in apparel, and every scene of luxurious dissipation. Lodgings could scarcely be procured for money, and provisions advanced to an exorbitant price. Amidst this public frenzy, however, the crown got rid of 1,500,000,000*l*. above 70,000,000*l*. sterling of debts without the payment of a single sous in money.‡ By the madness of speculation among such an immense concourse of adventurers from foreign nations, as well as from all parts of the kingdom, the stocks rose to

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 84. † Ibid. p. 85. ‡ Ibid. p. 117.

above 2,000*l.* per cent. but at last the scale began to turn, and their fall was as rapid as their rise.* The immense amount of the capital could not fail of diminishing its value and of overstocking the market, whenever the spirit of adventure should once begin in the least to subside; and, on the first appearance of its decline, a royal ordinance was issued, prohibiting all ecclesiastical communities, hospitals, &c. from putting their money to interest any where but in the India stocks. This, and other extraordinary measures, however, only served to give a general alarm. By the direction of Law, a variety of pamphlets were published, in order to assert the benefits that must arise to the proprietors of this kind of stock. But on the 21st of May, 1720, the fatal arret was issued by the king, purporting that, as it had been deemed expedient to reduce the value of the coin, it was likewise necessary to reduce the nominal value of bank-notes and India stock. The bank-notes immediately lost their currency; the French crown, which before was worth thirty-pence sterling in exchange at London, was depreciated to the value of three-pence in Bank paper;† and the India stock at last sunk below par. Every manœuvre that ingenuity could devise was employed to keep it up; but all proved ineffectual; the illusion was now dissipated, and the glittering prospect disappeared. In order to preserve the tranquillity of the capital, it was thought necessary to publish an ordinance strictly prohibiting all meetings or assemblies of people, under any pretence whatever; and guards were stationed in all the public places to enforce its observance. Thus the airy vision, which had so long dazzled the eyes of the people, vanished

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 117. † Ibid.

"like

"like the baseless fabric of a cloud;" but it left a tremendous wreck behind. Thousands of families were ruined, and multitudes of foreigners, who had come from all parts of Europe to share with the French speculators in their glittering pursuit, retired with ruined fortunes from this grand gaming-table, which had promised them so golden a prize. This and the South Sea scheme of the year following are the most extraordinary money transactions to be met with in the history of the world. But it is still more wonderful that the phantom no sooner disappeared on the other side of the Channel, than it made its appearance in England, and misled the people, by the same kind of illusion, which had ruined several thousands of families in France.

The causes and consequences of the unsuccessful war with England, which was terminated by the peace of Paris, 1763, have already been related.* In this reign the Parliament of Paris exerted itself in the expulsion of the Jesuits, and having gained this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, began to attempt to limit the power of the crown. The resolutions of this assembly excited new ideas in the public mind, and kindled the first sparks of that enthusiasm for liberty, which in the next reign degenerated into licentiousness, and overturned the throne. The next important event was the reduction of Corsica, of which Genoa claimed the sovereignty; but, being unable to support her pretensions, had transferred them to France. Two bloody campaigns in which the Corsicans, under the conduct of their celebrated general, Paoli, carried on the war among the fastnesses of their mountains, with all the enthusiasm that animates

* See Historical View of England.

the champions of freedom, at length compelled that brave people to yield to the superior discipline of the French, after such a resistance as left the victors no room to boast of their conquest. The commerce of France was, in this reign, exceedingly flourishing; both her East and West India trade had greatly increased; and her strides to universal commerce, seemed as bold as those which she had formerly made towards universal dominion.* She had almost engrossed the sugar trade; and, in the year 1740, the quantity of French sugar annually exported to the different European markets, was computed at 80,000 hogsheads.† The indigo produced in their West India islands, was also estimated at the annual value of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, of which three-fourths were exported from France to other countries; and the cocoa, coffee, rum, cotton, &c. was supposed to amount to 250,000*l.* sterling. To convey an idea of the importance of the sugar colonies, it suffices to say, that so early as the year 1701, when the sugar trade was comparatively in its infancy, the Council of Commerce, in one of its memorials, expressly said, "that the navigation of France owed its increase and splendor to the commerce of her sugar islands; and that it could not be kept up and enlarged otherwise, than by that commerce."‡ To these lucrative branches of traffic may also be added the fur trade of Canada, which at that period was very considerable.

Letters, as well as commerce, flourished under Louis XV.; but, unfortunately, they were prostituted to the worst of purposes, that of sapping the foundations of religion and civil government. Infidelity was daily gaining ground, and shewed itself unmasked in the following

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 140. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. ubi supra.

following reign.* Louis XV. died, A.D. 1774, in the sixty-sixth year of his age and the fifty-ninth of his reign.

His grandson, the late unfortunate Louis XVI, succeeded to the throne. Soon after his accession, several regulations, favorable to the interests of the nation, took place, which rendered him extremely popular. One remarkable circumstance of this reign was the placing of M. Necker, a native of Switzerland, and a Protestant, at the head of the finances, in 1776, contrary to the constant policy of France, which had always excluded the aliens of her country and her religion from the control of her revenue. His distinguished abilities, however, authorised, and the integrity as well as the sagacity of his conduct, justified the choice. Under his direction a general reform took place in every department of the revenue; and, at the commencement of hostilities, in 1777, the naval power of France, in consequence of the public œconomy, was carried to so great a height, as to appear truly formidable to Great Britain. According to his own memorial,† he changed the excess of the disbursements, which in 1776 was at least 1,000,000*l.* sterling, into a surplus of revenue to the amount of 445,000*l.* in the year 1780. But his œconomical measures were not calculated to procure him friends at court. The interested and the ambitious naturally became his enemies, and, through their intrigues, procured his dismission. No sooner was this able minister displaced, than the finances went rapidly to ruin. The immense expences which France incurred by the American war, were found to be much greater than her revenue could support. At the conclusion of the

* Moor's French Revolution, v. 1. p. 24.

† Necker Compte rendu au Roi.

year

year 1785, when the edict for enregistering a loan for 3,330,000*l.* was sent to the Parliament of Paris; the murmurs of the people, and the remonstrances of that assembly, assumed a more formidable appearance. The king, however, signifying to the deputies commissioned to convey these remonstrances, that he expected to be obeyed, the ceremony of enregistering took place; but accompanied with a resolution, recommending, in strong expressions, public œconomy, as the only means of providing for the necessities of the state and the support of the national credit. This resolution the king commanded to be erased from their records. M. de Calonne, although supported by the sovereign, was deeply mortified by the opposition of the Parliament; and an exact enquiry into the state of the finances, convinced him, that the expenditure had far exceeded the revenues. From the hostile disposition of the Parliament and the people, he perceived that the negotiation of loans, and the imposition of new taxes, were equally impossible, and hesitated not to declare, that a thorough reform of the constitution could alone restore the finances. But for the accomplishment of this purpose, he perceived that something more was necessary than royal authority; the interposition of Parliament, or ministerial influence. Under these circumstances, the only alternative that remained was to have recourse to an assembly of the state's-general, or, at least, of the notables. The former, which was the supreme and legitimate council of the nation, had not met since the reign of Louis XIII, who convened them, for the last time, A.D. 1614, and an assembly of notables, chiefly selected from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the king, had been occasionally substituted in their

place.

place. The assembly of notables was therefore convened in 1787. At its opening, on the 29th of January, the comptroller-general, M. de Calonne, presented his great plan of national reform, of which the fundamental principle was the equalization of the public burthen; and a general land-tax, from which no order of men should be exempted, was proposed as the most obvious means of its accomplishment. The nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy, had alway enjoyed an exemption from the tailles; and these superior orders, although willing to support the rights of the nation against the court, were resolved to defend their own privileges against the people.* They raised a loud clamour against the minister, De Calonne, who, unable to stem the torrent, resigned, and took shelter in England against the storm of persecution. It was soon found that the notables, in their present disposition, were incompetent to the reformation of the state. The ferment daily increased; and the public disorder required some prompt and efficacious remedy. Necker was recalled to the administration of the finances; but his ideas and measures were not adapted to the existing conjuncture. His object was a reform; the violent aimed at a revolution. In the midst of these gathering storms, which were ready to burst, Louis XVI. convoked the General Assembly of the States at Versailles. The majority of the Commons and a minority of the Nobles voted, that the representation of the third estate should be doubled.† Louis Stanislaus Xavier, his majesty's brother, and M. Necker, took the same side of the question. This important decision has, by some, been considered as the sole cause of

* M. de Segur's Hist. Fred. William, vol. 2, ch. 7.

† The third estate is the Commons, or representatives of the people.

the

the revolution. The noblesse, however, attempted to render it illusory by passing a decree, that the resolutions should be determined by orders and not by individual votes. The public ferment was raised to the highest degree by this proposition. The famous pamphlet, entitled, "Qu'est ce que le Tiers Etat," appeared, by which L'Abbe Sieyes, its author, acquired unbounded popularity; and, from this moment, war might be considered as declared by the people against the two superior orders.

The National Assembly now began to take a different form. The minority of the noblesse, consisting of men who had adopted the new ideas of the modern philosophy, and several of whom had brought republican principles from America, with many of the inferior clergy, went over to the Tiers Etat. The declaration of rights was produced, which ought to have been accompanied with a declaration of duties, to have rendered it consistent. The measures of the court were impolitic, irresolute, and embarrassed; and, although an army of 30,000 men, under the command of Marshal Broglio, was assembled in the vicinity of the capital, no decisive measures were taken. In the mean while, the aspect of Paris became every day more formidable and menacing. The murmurs of its immense population were changed into violent declamations. The French guards, mixing with the people, had imbibed their spirit. The civil and military authorities were destitute of energy; and a crowd of vagabonds and desperadoes attracted to the capital, by the general fermentation, and, probably, in the pay of the demagogues, increased the terror of the moment. At this momentous crisis, government, hesitating and irresolute, gave time for the spirit of sedition to operate,

operate, and, at last, tardily declaring itself for the aristocracy, lost that popular favour which had been the basis of its power. The dismissal of Necker, who was now become the idol of the nation, increased the ferment. His bust, with that of the Duke of Orleans, was carried round Paris. The citizens flew to arms; the banditti, that infested all the streets, were seized and imprisoned. A party of the people rushed to the hospital of the invalids, and seized the arms there deposited. From another quarter, an immense crowd marching to the Bastille, assaulted and carried that castle of despotism, killed the governor, and liberated the victims who had been consigned alive to the grave, in its horrible dungeons. In an iron cage of about twelve tons weight, was found the skeleton of a man, who had probably lingered out a great part of his days in this horrid mansion. Among the prisoners released from these gloomy recesses of oblivion, were Major White, a native of Scotland; Earl Massarene, an Irish nobleman, and the aged Count de Lorges. The first, from being long unaccustomed to converse with mankind, had forgotten the use of speech; and his intellects were exceedingly impaired through the miseries of his confinement. It is said that Earl Masarene, at his arrival on the British shore, fell down on his knees, and, kissing the ground, exclaimed, "God bless this land of liberty." The Count de Lorges was exhibited to the public in the Palais Royale; and his squalid appearance, his white beard descending to his waist, with his imbecility, the effect of thirty-two years of close imprisonment, rendered him an object extremely well calculated to operate on the mind and the passions of every spectator. Happy would it have been had the French revolution ended with the extinction

tinction of this detestable tower of despotism. After this explosion of popular fury, the city was divided into sections. The national guard was formed, of which the command was given, by the election of the people, to General La Fayette, so celebrated as the champion of American independence, and one of the first who declared for the revolution. During these events the court remained undetermined, and the army inactive. The ministers, through habits of power, were become torpid; and Louis had too little of the tyrant for the times in which he lived. By the revolutionists he has been branded with that name; but had he been a tyrant he might, perhaps, have reigned at this day.* Had Louis XI. or Louis XIV. been in his place, the throne of France most probably would not have been overturned.

After so decided a victory on the part of the people, and the organization of the national guard, the court, without plan, without money, without credit, saw no resource but that of compliance. The principal courtiers, among whom were the king's brothers, and the Prince of Condé, retired with precipitancy from France, and the king found himself without a court or a council, and almost entirely forsaken. Imperious necessity enforcing a compliance with the public wish, his majesty went to the assembly and informed it of the recall of Necker, and the removal of the troops. On the 17th of July, 1789, three days after the memorable assault of the Bastille, Louis XVI. went to Paris, and received from the hands of the mayor the national cockade. Joy, hope, and confidence now seemed for a moment to revive in the nation. The Constituent Assembly was filled with

* Segur. Hist. Fred. William, vol. 2.

men

men of the most distinguished abilities, and united all that could elevate the mind and excite the enthusiasm of a nation eager for novelty. The discussions were learned, the speeches energetic and brilliant, and many of its institutions judicious and beneficial. It annulled humiliating privileges, substituted the beneficent institution of juries for the former rigorous code of jurisprudence, emancipated the mind, and established universal liberty of conscience. But while it encouraged the exertion of every talent, it opened an unbounded field to every species of ambition. Its political errors, however, were too remote to be felt: the good existed at the moment: the evil was reserved for the future. For some time all were carried along by the general ardour; and the nobles themselves, on the 4th of August, astonished the world by the unexpected sacrifice of all the rights and privileges that separated them from the people.

Fluctuation and uncertainty are the general characteristics of every revolution, but especially of those which are founded on democratic principles. When the people are called in to be actors and arbiters, a power is roused, which is hostile to all regular order and civil security. A field is laid open to the turbulence of faction, and leaders are seldom wanting to inflame the public mind, and make public opinion subservient to their own designs. Of this, the revolution of France exhibits a memorable instance. At this period it might have been expected that tranquillity was re-established, and mutual confidence restored. But in every country, and in every age, factions and turbulent spirits are found, who want nothing but a favourable concurrence of circumstances

stances to bring them forward into action. The Constituent Assembly seemed to aim at nothing more than to establish a limited monarchical government, and did all that could be expected, and all, perhaps, that men in their situation could perform. They decreed that the legislative power should reside in a council, composed of deputies elected by the nation, that the crown should be hereditary, the monarch invested with the executive power, and his person held inviolable.

But it cannot be doubted, that from the very commencement of the revolution, some of its promoters, or partizans, designed, or, at least, desired the subversion of the monarchy. Such took care not to suffer the animosity and distrust which had existed between the nobles and the plebeians to subside; and jealousy was easily roused. Many of the popular leaders, doubtful of their strength, and dreading from habit a power which no longer existed, thought that their safety consisted in securing the assistance of the people, by inflaming their minds against the nobility. The affairs of the revolution, during some time, appear complicated and obscure. Parties were forming in secret, and it is difficult to investigate the plans of either the court or the patriots. The famous entertainment given by the Gardes du Corps, at Versailles, so remarkable for its imprudent circumstances, and tragical consequences, was thought to develope the intentions of the court and the aristocrats. The discontent of the capital, and the fears of the patriots, were roused on a report, true or false, that the national cockade had been trampled under foot, and a counter-revolution projected. A scarcity of corn, the effect of policy or negligence, heightened the ferment. The

tocsin

tocsin was sounded, the people tumultuously assembled, encompassed the Hotel de Ville, and insisted that the whole capital should march against the court. The national guards flew to arms, to pursue a forocious gang of banditti, of both sexes, that was set off for Versailles. The populace had already forced the hall of the National Assembly, insulted the members, and demanded the lives of the queen and the gardes du corps, when General La Fayette, with the national troops, arrived just in time to prevent the most shocking outrages.* The banditti were dispersed, and the king was conducted to Paris under the protection of the national guard.

On the 14th of July, 1790, was celebrated with extraordinary solemnity, the feast of the grand confederation. This august spectacle was exhibited in the Champ de Mars, where an altar was erected, for the purpose of administering the civic oath; and round it was thrown up an immense amphitheatre of a league in circumference, and capable of containing 400,000 spectators. The king's throne was placed under an elegant pavillion in the middle, and on each side were seats for the members of the national assembly. The king, the representatives of the nation, the soldiery, and all that were in ostensible situations, solemnly renewed their oaths of fidelity to the new constitution.† This was the last happy day of the revolutionary period. The factions were forming, and the volcano, that was to overwhelm every thing hitherto held sacred, was ripening for explosion. A power was elevating itself, which was shortly to trample under foot all laws, human and divine, and to convert France into an

* Moor's French Revolu. vol. 1, p. 411, vol. 2, p. 21.

† Ibid, vol. 2, p. 157, &c.

immense slaughter-house. This fatal institution was the jacobin club, which soon became a rallying point for all men of desperate fortunes and profligate principles, and was every day reinforced by the enemies of all legal order, whose aim was to institute a war of the poor against the rich, and to overturn the whole fabric of society, in hopes of rising to wealth and power on its ruins. This desperate body, overawing all other assemblies, misled the multitude, and every where excited the spirit of political and civil inquisition. Like a desolating torrent breaking down all restrictive mounds, it deluged France with blood and with crimes. The Constituent Assembly, hurried on by its impulse, proceeded to destroy all ancient institutions, ecclesiastical and civil. Parliaments, universities, and religious orders, were suppressed, the revenues of the church were seized, and a civil constitution drawn up for the clergy. All men of rank and property saw their lives constantly threatened by a furious populace, whose leaders incited them to persecute their adversaries, in order to prevent the possibility of their revenge. Numbers of the nobility and clergy made their escape to foreign countries, and the king, terrified at the storms that were gathering around him, attempted a precipitate but ill projected flight to the frontiers, where M. de Bouillé, with some troops, waited his arrival. Departing from Paris in the night, followed by all his family, without any disguise, attended by two gardes du corps, and in a carriage, the form of which alone was sufficient to excite curiosity and attract attention, he was recognized by a post-master, and stopped at Varennes.* Had he wished to be discovered he could not have

* Segur ubi supra.

acted

acted with less precaution. He was reconducted to Paris amidst the insults of the populace. This occurrence, however, notwithstanding the clamours of the jacobins, was through the calm intrepidity of La Fayette and the firmness of the Constituent Assembly, productive of less disorder than might have been expected. At this epoch the republican party first began to appear, but its first efforts were so weak as to afford no indication of its future triumph. The constitution was revised by the assembly and was accepted by the king. Soon after this, the second national council assembled, with abilities far inferior to those of the first; and from their first deliberations it was easy to foresee that discord would prevail during the session. About this period M. Necker, seeing all his abilities and exertions useless, amidst the clashing interests of parties and the turbulence of faction, had resigned and retired from France; and the Duke of Orleans returned to be an instrument of promoting the catastrophe of his sovereign, and to rush upon his own destiny.—

The emigrant princes, noblemen, and military officers, who had for some time been assembled at Coblentz and other places, and soliciting the assistance of the continental powers, now began to assume a formidable appearance, and their threats were industriously circulated. The pope thundered out bulls, which in France only excited contempt; the aspect of Prussia and Austria became every day more hostile, and every thing indicated a dreadful explosion. In France the jacobins were uniformly successful. Violent harangues were delivered from the tribune; and abusive pamphlets against kings issued from all the presses. Jacobinism inundated Paris and fanaticised its citizens. All minds

were infatuated and all the violent passions excited. The legislative body adopted the violent mode of proscription by classes; a decree was issued against all priests who had not adopted the civil constitution of the clergy, and another against emigrants, without any distinction, of age, sex or motive of absence, declaring their effects confiscated, and adjudging them indiscriminately to death, if they should ever return to France. Narbonne, the minister of the war department, took a survey of the frontiers, reviewed the troops, and in order to impose on foreign powers, exhibited such a statement of the strength and resources of France, that the democrates began to wish for the war which they had hitherto dreaded. Narbonne being dismissed, the jacobins filled every situation of power, and Dumouriez was placed at the head of the new administration.* This ambitious and enterprizing genius, perceiving that he should render himself more illustrious at the head of his armies, assumed an imperious tone in negotiation, which must necessarily excite hostilities. Mistaking the character of the Prussian monarch, he could not persuade himself that the cabinet of Berlin would ever cordially unite with that of Vienna, and expected to have to contend only with the forces of Austria.† Louis was not without reason averse to a war: but as he knew that his opposition to such a measure, would be considered as a collusion with foreign powers, he went to the National Assembly by the advice of his ministers, and in the midst of loud acclamations declared war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia. Things were now approaching to a crisis, equally dreadful and unexpected.

* Segur Fred. Will. vol. 3. ch. 9.

† Idem ibid.

pected. The king of Prusia, flattered himself with the romantic glory of breaking the chains of the French monarch, of restoring him to his power, and cementing a firm alliance between the courts of Berlin and Vérsailles. Austia could not fail of considering this as a favorable opportunity of regaining possession of those territories which Louis XIV, had wrested out of her hands, and the emigrants expected their restoration to their country and property. The other European governments, although justly irritated at the disorganizing system of the jacobins, and their apostolic zeal for its propagation, did not foresee the energies that enthusiasm would inspire. Though they apprehended the contagion of French principles, the arms of France werenot deemedformidable. A country with exhausted finances and rent by factions, seemed incapable of carrying on a vigorous war; and its undisciplined troops, without subordination, were considered as incapable of withstanding the warlike legions of Prussia and Austria; but all these calculations were erroneous. Against the latter of these powers war had been declared by France on the 24th, of April, and in the month of July following, the king of Prussia issued a concise declarátion of the reasons that induced him to take up arms. The Duke of Brunswick, generalissimo of the combined Austrian and Prussian army, published a manifesto, in which he seemed to regard France already as a conquered country, and threatened Paris with military execution and total desolation. The effects which it produced were a general indignation, an universal armament, and unfortunately a distrust of the court, which nothing could remove. Hostilities now seriously commenced; butalthough the French appeared unanimous in running

to arms, a fatal disposition to discord paralized their first efforts. The armies commanded by La Fayette, Rochambeau and Luckner were, through the intrigues of the jacobin party, who meditated the ruin of those generals, defectively furnished with tents, provision, and means of transporting their equipage; and Theobald Dillon was murdered by his mutinous soldiers. The popular frenzy was, by the jacobin clubs, raised to its height, and all the measures of the court were suspected. The clubs, the public places and the sections, echoed with inflammatory declarations and violent denunciations against the monarch and his family, and a republican government was loudly demanded.

The nobles, merchants, and other men of property, were designated to the mob as eternal enemies of the people. Furious bands of desperadoes from the south, came in crowds to Paris, and by their seditious harangues and energetic songs, inflamed the multitude. The Swiss guards were declared the satellites of tyranny, and the people insisted on their dismissal. France was divided between four principal factions, the royalists, who wished to see the ancient government re-established; the constitutional monarchists, the republicans, and the anarchists, or furious jacobins, who aimed at the subversion of all social order, and the pillage of all property. The king, the officers of the houshold, the courtiers, the constitutionalists, and the terrified aristocrats, adopted measures which proved ineffectual for their defence, and which were interpreted as counter-revolutionary plans; while the approach of the Prussian army to the frontiers of the kingdom increased the general fermentation.

The mysterious and melancholy 10th of August, 1792, is

is still fresh in every one's memory, although all the circumstances from which it originated have never been satisfactorily developed. The consequences, however, are fatally notorious. The royalists, by their imprudent zeal in crowding round the king, excited suspicions. The palace of the Thuilleries was filled with officers and courtiers, and the jacobins took advantage of this circumstance to rouse the populace to arms. The heads of the republican party, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, Barbaraux, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Chabot, had formed a plan for annihilating the monarchy at one single stroke; and in one of their deliberations on the means of rendering the king odious and exciting the populace, Chabot said to his colleagues, " Cut off my head, say that it has fallen under the blow of regal tyranny, place it on a pike, and march with this bloody standard against the palace." This trait serves to shew, that men so determined could not be stopped by any obstacle. They could not depend on more than 700 or 800 intrepid Marseillois, and a disorderly banditti of vagabonds, yet with these they succeeded in subverting the monarchy. In the dead of night a band of violent jacobins, calling themselves deputies of the sections of Paris, flew to the commune, deposed the municipality, and assassinated Mandat, commandant of the national guards. The tocsin was sounded, and the Marseillois advanced towards the Thuilleries. The guard of the palace was under arms, and the administration of the department had given them orders to repel force by force. Had Louis XVI. now drawn the sword, he must either have conquered, or have gloriously fallen. The queen exhorted him to defend by arms his person, his family,

 and

and his crown; but the king, instead of adopting this resolute measure, sought an asylum in the bosom of the legislative assembly, and at once extinguished the hopes of his friends and the fears of his enemies. It is needless to detail the circumstances of this fatal day, the palace of the Thuilleries was forced, the galleries, the apartments, the passages and courts, soon streamed with blood, the Swiss were massacred, and the royalists killed or dispersed. From this moment the power of the legislative assembly was annihilated, the cannon of the Parisians dictated all its decrees. The king was suspended from his functions, and with his family sent prisoner to the temple; the representatives of the nation, overawed by the jacobin clubs, violated the constitution, and imprisoned the monarch, whom it had declared inviolable. Nothing was now omitted that could inspire the soldiery and the people with hatred for the captive king and the constitutional generals; the poor were promised the property of the rich, and subalterns the places of their superiors. La Fayette was determined to support the constitution, but was soon abandoned by his army; and an accusation being preferred against him, he resolved to escape the scaffold by quitting his country, in company with Bureau de Pusy, Latour Maubourg, and Alexander Lameth. The arrest of these illustrious fugitives by an Austrian party, and their subsequent sufferings, are universally known; we shall only remark, that nothing could be more impolitic than their treatment. It taught the constitutionalists, who wished to save the throne, to expect the same treatment as the jacobins who overturned it, and united all France in one common cause. The generals who had hesitated, now adhered to the de-

crees

crees of the convention, the soldiers resolved to conquer or die, and the citizens running to arms, increased their numerous battalions.

To the harsh treatment of La Fayette and his companions, in conjunction with the threats of the Prussian manifesto, may in a great measure be attributed the catastrophe of the royal family, the union of the factions against foreign force, and the desperate enthusiasm that pervaded the people and armies of France. The approach of the Prussian army, gave rise to fresh scenes of horror at Paris. Ever since the tragical 10th of August, the barriers had been shut, and the prisons filled with nobles, ecclesiastics, and opulent citizens. The outrageous orators among the jacobins, represented these unfortunate people as conspirators, whose design was to murder the families of the patriots, as soon as the enemy, advancing to the capital, should oblige the whole mass of the citizens to take the field, and insisted on the necessity of extirpating this crowd of domestic enemies. These dreadful suggestions and inflammatory speeches, infused a blind rage into the minds of the people. The tocsin was sounded, and ferocious assassins proceeding to the prisons, forced them open, and in the name of the people murdered the unhappy prisoners, without distinction of age, sex, or circumstances. The sanguinary massacre continued three days, and Paris flowed with blood, while no constitutional authority existed, that could put a stop to these horrible outrages. This was the beginning of the reign of terror.

The Prussian columns in the mean while advanced and captured Verdun and Longwy, but here was the termination of their progress. Dumouriez, Kellerman, Luckner, and Bournonville, opposed them with a formidable

a formidable force. The plan of the French generals was to harass the enemy, to impede his progress by continual skirmishes, and prevent his retreat if it should be found expedient. Custine and Biron at the same time marched towards Mentz, in order to intercept the communication between the coalesced army and Germany. At Paris an entrenched camp was formed, and 120,000 men had taken arms. From all the departments numerous battalions of volunteers arrived, of whom a part formed an army behind the Prussians, while the rest joined Dumouriez; and that general, who began the campaign with 17,000 men, ended it with a 100,000; while the Austro-Prussian army, which consisted of 80,000 men when it entered France, had, by sickness and famine, lost above 25,000 before it had proceeded to Longwy;* and this blustering army astonished all Europe by its precipitate retreat, without fighting one battle with the forces of France.

On the 24th September, royalty was abolished by a decree of the Convention, and France declared a republic amidst the loudest acclamations. The progress of her arms now became exceedingly rapid. In the moment when Paris was threatened, the conquest of Savoy was projected, and in a short time accomplished. Custine advanced into Germany and made himself master of Spire, Mentz, and Frankfort, while Dumouriez entering the Netherlands with 40,000 men and a formidable train of artillery, after several skirmishes, gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Jemappe. In this engagement the military skill of the general, and the valour of his troops, were equally conspicuous. Every

* Dumouriez's letter to General Biron, bearing date St. Menhold, 28th September, 1792.

point

point of the enemy's lines was attacked at once, every corps of the French army was in action. The cannonade began at seven in the morning; at noon the French infantry, forming into columns, rushed on the enemy with fixed bayonets, and at two the Austrians were completely defeated. This battle decided the fate of the Austrian Netherlands, every town of which, except Luxembourg, opened its gates to the conqueror. To conciliate the Belgians, the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, shut up by the treaty of Munster, was ordered. This was deemed injurious to the Dutch, as Antwerp might prove a dangerous rival to the commerce of Holland; and the infraction of this treaty was one of the apparent reasons that induced Great Britain to join in the grand confederacy. But the increasing influence of revolutionary principles, artfully propagated by the emissaries of France, also rendered it necessary to break off all connection with so dangerous a neighbour, whose system was proselytism, and her government a turbulent democracy; while the exorbitant power of the new republic, and the extension of its coasts by the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, threatened the safety of Great Britain, and roused her to attempt to put a stop to its further aggrandizement.

The trial of the king, which commenced on the 11th of December, and its tragical issue, excited the general sympathy of Europe. The voice of humanity deplored the fate of a prince, who, after having adopted such lenient measures in the different stages of the revolution, shewed a firmness on the scaffold, which afforded a strong presumption, that could he have taken away the lives of his subjects with the same indifference with which he resigned his own, he might have avoided his destiny.

The

The memorable decree of the 19th November, 1792, issued by the Convention, which for its absurdity and impolitic tendency could be equalled only by the Prussian manifesto, by offering fraternity and assistance to the revolutionists of every country, was equivalent to a declaration of war against all nations, and could not but attract the attention of all the European powers.

History often wearies us with repeated details of political quarrels, diplomatic intrigues, and wars without any decisive consequences, exhibiting an uniform and uncharitable picture, continuing through ages with little variation of feature or colouring. At present a spectacle more striking arrests the attention, a novel phœnomenon appears, and we are led to contemplate events that have baffled all political conjecture. The powers of Europe, irritated at the arrogance of the republican convention, and perceiving the dangers with which they were threatened, by measures which indicated an intention of overturning all the existing governments in this part of the globe, formed a confederacy more extensive and powerful than any other recorded in history. England, Holland, Prussia, Austria, the Princes of Germany and Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Russia, united against the republic, and France seemed doomed to experience the fate of Troy. Without money, and without credit, tyranised in the interior by sanguinary anarchists, and menaced from abroad by the combined forces of Europe, the French nation did not seem capable, without a miracle, of extricating itself from so terrible a crisis. But that enthusiasm, which in all ages has formed either martyrs or heroes, supported the republic against all the efforts of its enemies, in spite of the folly and ferocity of its rulers. We

We have already seen the successes of Dumouriez, but their splendor was as short as it was brilliant, and the suddenness of his fall was equal to the rapidity of his elevation.

The Prince of Saxe Cobourg, and General Clairfait, defeated the French under General Valence, and possessed themselves of Liege; Miranda was compelled to raise the siege of Maestricht, and Dumouriez, who had already entered Holland, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat into Brabant, where he fought and lost the battle of Nerwindgen. General Miranda, who was reproached by Dumouriez as having occasioned the loss of that battle, retorted the charge, and accused the latter of having betrayed France on that day. Both these accusations were improbable, and unsupported by any proofs. Dumouriez afterwards repulsed the Austrians in a bloody action near Louvain, but was at last obliged to abandon all his conquests, and retreat into France. From this moment, foreseeing the fate which the suspicious republicans were preparing for a vanquished general, he determined to make his peace with the coalition, to march with his army to Paris, and re-establish a monarchical government. Some assert that his intention was to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne, but several circumstances concur to render this supposition doubtful. However this may be, the event completely disappointed his hopes. Four deputies from the Convention, with Bournonville the secretary of the war department, arrived at the camp to secure the attachment of the troops, and the person of the general; on which Dumouriez, relying on his influence over the army, openly erected the standard of revolt, and ordering the minister and the four de-

puties to be arrested, delivered them up to the Austrians, as hostages for the safety of the persons of the royal family yet imprisoned at Paris. He then developed his project to the army, and in a brilliant and energetic speech, exhorted his troops to acquire immortal glory by the re-establishment of monarchy and the constitution of 1791, expecting their ready acquiescence. But the soldiers, who, hitherto ignorant of his views, had preserved for him an enthusiastic regard, being animated by their officers, indignant at the general's defection, universally expressed a murmur of dissatisfaction, which dissipated his illusion. A precipitate flight being now his only resource, he galloped off with about 700 or 800 men, who attached themselves to his fortune.

The allies were now every where successful. It would be tedious to repeat the details, which every one has read in the public papers, and which have been digested into regular narrative by various historians of the revolution; we shall, therefore, trace only the general outlines of the picture. General Dampierre having rallied the scattered forces, disordered and dismayed by Dumouriez's defection, after several bloody engagements, fell bravely fighting in the battle of Famar. Conde surrendered to the Austrians, and Valenciennes to his royal highness the Duke of York, after having, for the space of seven weeks, sustained a vigorous siege. His royal highness then laid siege to Dunkirk, and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg to Maubeuge; but both these attempts miscarried. A naval armament from Englaud, which was to have co-operated in the siege of Dunkirk, could not sail so soon as was expected; and a French army of superior force approaching, the allies, after several severe

actions, were obliged to raise the siege and to leave behind their train of artillery. General Houchard was afterwards impeached in the Convention, and guillotined, on a charge of not having improved his success to the best advantage.

The year 1793, was a terrible crisis for France. Besides the loss of Conde and Valenciennes, Puisaye and Wimpfen, with an army of male-contents, were within twenty leagues of Paris. The king of Prussia had driven the French from Frankfort, and re-taken Mentz. An Austro-Prusian army, combined with the Prince of Condé, had forced the lines of Weissemburg, where the republicans lost 15,000 men. Landau was blockaded. Toulon had voluntarily surrendered to the English and Spaniards. Most of the southern provinces were in a state of rebellion against the Convention; and the large and populous city of Lyons presented a formidable focus of insurrection, while 400,000 of the best disciplined troops in Europe were preparing to conquer the republic. At this tremendous crisis, the revolutionary government, the most absolute and ferocious of which history affords any example, displayed an energy that triumphed over all obstacles, carried dismay to the extremities of Europe, and presented a political picture, that will excite the astonishment and the abhorrence of posterity. This terrific government, composed of jacobinical demagogues, annihilating all opposition, and restrained by no principle nor pity, had the absolute power of disposing at pleasure of the property, the labour, and the blood of 24,000,000 of people; a circumstance unparalleled in ancient or modern history.

By the expedient of assignats, and a decree to enforce their circulation, an immense paper currency

was

was created, and innumerable confiscations and requisitions contributed to increase the public resources. A million of soldiers were levied; and terror inspired the generals with a desperate courage. Those that were unfortunate, were immediately denounced to the revolutionary tribunal, which indiscriminately condemned all the victims marked out for destruction. Among these was the brave Custine, whose successes had been so important and brilliant. He was accused of having maintained an improper correspondence with the enemy, and of having neglected various opportunities of throwing succours into Valenciennes. In that calamitous period, and before that atrocious tribunal, impeachment was equivalent to proof. Custine, one of the bravest defenders of the nation, was condemned to the guillotine, and died with that tranquillity of mind which conscious rectitude inspires.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed. She heard the sanguinary sentence with heroic intrepidity, and met her fate with dignity and composure, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Brissot and his party were the next victims, being condemned on vague accusations of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic. Valazé, on hearing his sentence, stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal. Brissot and his other companions, to the number of twenty-one persons, suffered death by the guillotine, manifesting in their last moments the most heroic unconcern. The weak and wavering but profligate Duke of Orleans, accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, was likewise brought to the block. The charge was not substantiated by any proof; and his real designs remain a secret to posterity.

terity. His destruction, however, was determined, and the firmness which he displayed at his death, formed a contrast with the weakness and irresolution that had marked his conduct through life. The faction of the Gironde now sank under the power of the Mountain party. The eloquent Barnave, the virtuous Bailly, with Beauharnois and Biron, beloved by the people and the army, were brought to the scaffold; and while France was invaded on every side, and resembled a city closely besieged, the revolutionary government multiplied proscriptions in order to prevent revolt by the operation of terror. Amidst the complicated horrors of this dreadful period, one of the most ferocious of the tyrants of France met with his fate from a female hand. Charlotte Corday, inspired with a heroic enthusiasm, not inferior to that which animated the celebrated Maid of Orleans, like her obtained an immortal name. She took a journey to Paris for the express purpose of putting an end to the existence of the infernal Marat, of whom she had no knowledge, but by the calamities which he brought upon her country. After having identified his person, she plunged a dagger into his heart, and he immediately expired. Glorying in having exterminated a monster, she suffered death by the guillotine with inflexible firmness, in the twenty-fifth year of her age.

This terrific and horrible government, not contented with exercising tyranny over men, proceeded, at last, to impieties against God, which will astonish and shock the most distant posterity. The Christian religion was abolished by a decree of the Convention. The priests, who sat in that assembly, publicly abjured their

their creed, and the churches were shut up after being despoiled of their sacred emblems and ornaments. Atheists now directed the councils, and desperadoes conducted the armies of France. Heaven, however, in order to scourge mankind, permitted her arms to be victorious. The generals sacrificed on the scaffold were succeeded by others, who rendered their names illustrious by their splendid successes; and the warriors of France astonished Europe, by their numbers and their valour. Concord and energy were wanting among the coalesced powers, and their armies were every where repulsed. The French government sent a powerful army against the insurgents of Lyons, and after an obstinate resistance, the reduction of that unfortunate city was accomplished, with a horrible slaughter of its inhabitants. The republicans then directed their march to Toulon, where they arrived in the month of November, and began to erect their batteries. The British general, O'Hara, was wounded and taken prisoner in a sortie. On the 19th of December, Fort Mulgrave, defended by above 3000 men, with twenty pieces of cannon, and several mortars, was attacked and carried by the republicans in less than an hour. The town was then bombarded from noon until ten o'clock at night, when it was precipitately evacuated by the allies, and as many of the inhabitants as could crowd into the ships; but many thousands were left on shore exposed to the fury of their enemies. The horrors of that dreadful night exceed the powers of description, and even of imagination. The bustle, the confusion of the people who got on board the vessels, the massacre of those left on shore, the thundering of artillery, and the conflagration

tion of the town and the shipping altogether, formed a scene which no pen can describe, which no pencil can paint.

During these successes, the system of terror still reigned at Paris with unabated vigour; and the mutual distrust of the tyrants rendered it equally destructive to themselves and to those over whom they tyrannized. In the month of March, the ensuing year, 1794, Hebert, Momoro, and eighteen others of this diabolical Convention, being impeached by their colleagues, were immediately condemned and executed. Paris was at this time a rendezvous of robbers and assassins, collected together from every part of France; and paid by the factions. One of their most eminent political writers thus describes the state of that capital. "A stranger arriving at Paris, met in the streets only men of a hideous and ferocious aspect: women disgusting and lost to all shame; nothing was heard but brutal speeches and atrocious blasphemy. In every commune, in every section, were established clubs and revolutionary committees, consisting of banditti immersed in crimes, they had not the right to save any one; but their power to denouce, imprison, plunder, and send innocence to the scaffold, was unlimited. The dregs of the people were paid to assist at assemblies, in order to encourage guilt, to terrify moderation, and to applaud executions. No one could awake in safety nor sleep without dread. The slightest noise at the door of a house spread alarm in families; they always thought they saw the arrival of robbers and jailors. Men the most violent in favour of the revolution were not secured by the pledges, frequently criminal, which they had given: all were equally exposed to the suspicious fury

 of

of the new Syllas of France. The same scaffold exhibited a scene, in which were sacrificed the zealous royalist, the intrepid constitutionalist, the fanatical priest, the sanguinary jacobin, the opulent financier, the obscure artificer, the celebrated philosopher, the shameless prostitute, innocent virgin, and the ferocious anarchist. This government, in its delirium, resembled those cruel scourges, those fatal epidemical distempers, which rapidly depopulate a vast region by mowing down, indiscriminately, all ranks, all sexes, and all ages."*

It was impossible that so horrid a state of things could long exist; and the members of the Pandemonium of Paris, having reached the last stage of tyranny, at length exterminated one another, and successively fell on the same scaffolds on which thousands of innocent victims had been immolated. Robespierre, in the first place, dreading the forocious courage of Danton, Fabré d'Eglantine, and Chabot, three of the most finished desperadoes of the Convention, caused them to be arrested with several of their adherent, and without confronting them with any witnesses hurried them away to the scaffold. After these executions, Robespierre became all-powerful, and the government of France, although nominally republican, was almost entirely vested in the person of that usurper. Supported by a numerous and atrocious banditti, he set no bounds to his cruelty. Under his sanguinary administration, the prisons of Paris contained at one time above 7000 persons. Every day witnessed the immolation of sixty or eighty victims at a time, and the dungeons of the capital were filled and emptied with the most horrible rapidity.

* Segur. Hist. Fred. William, vol. 3, ch. 11.

rapidity. In the departments Le Bon, Carriere and others exercised the same cruelties, and France, covered with bastilles and with scaffolds, was deluged with tears and with blood. The angelic beauty and unoffending innocence of Madame Elizabeth, sister of the late unfortunate monarch, could not protect her against the cruelties of this sanguinary period. She was condemned on the most frivolous pretexts, and perished by the revolutionary axe without even the appearance of guilt: her royal blood was her only crime. This beautiful and aimable princess was guillotined the last of twenty-six persons led the same day to the scaffold.

The infamous Robespierre now seemed to aim at the total extermination of all persons of property, and the destruction of all the existing authorities, in order to reign over a murderous banditti. But his career was drawing towards its termination. He began to conspire the destruction of his colleagues, who were not ignorant of his designs and of their own danger. Barras, Freron, Rovere, Le Gendre, Bourdon, Merlin de Thionville, Tallien, and Lecointre, resolved to prevent their own destruction by the death of the tyrant. Robespierre being informed of the conspiracy, and relying on a majority of the jacobins, and on the assistance of the communes of Paris, as well as on the succours of Henriot, commandant of the national guard, thought himself able to attack with impunity the other members; to obtain a decree of impeachment against them; and to establish his own absolute power. Ascending the tribune, he pronounced a violent harangue on the situation of the republic. The proposition of ordering it to be printed was boldly opposed by Bourdon, Vadier, and Cambon, who accused him of misrepresentation and falsehood.

The tyrant now seeing his influence in the senate on the point of being overthrown, repaired to the jacobins and inflamed their minds by a representation of their common danger. The next day Billaud de Varennes accused Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, Henriot, and La Valette, of tyranny, and of a wish to massacre the Convention. A general cry of "down with the tyrant" prevented his answer from being heard. Tallien then rose, moved his arrest, and drawing a dagger swore he would plunge it into the heart of the tyrant, if the Convention had not the courage to break their chains. The assembly then ordered him and his accomplices to be arrested; but when he was led to prison, the administrator of the police refused to receive him, and a determined band of jacobins dispersing the guards, carried him in triumph to the Hotel de Ville. Henriot at the same time had been arrested at the committee of public safety, and liberated by a body of 800 armed banditti. The tyrants were now masters of the Hotel de Ville, at the head of the commune of Paris, surrounded by a numerous populace, which appeared ready for their defence. Had they immediately marched to attack the hall of the Convention, which was unguarded, they might have sacrificed their accusers, and established their own empire. Happily, however, their confusion, or their cowardice, caused them to let slip this opportunity, and the Convention adopted the most vigorous measures. Barras and some of his colleagues, were entrusted with the command of the capital. The citizens being summoned to the defence of liberty, and the extinction of tyranny, flew to arms; and the deputies having assembled some of the sections, proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, where they read the decree of the Convention

tion to the surrounding multitude, and without opposition seized all the conspirators. Robespierre, seeing himself deserted by the populace, on whose support he relied, and convinced that all was lost, shot himself in the mouth with a pistol; the ball carried away part of his jaw, but did not terminate his existence. During the space of twenty-four hours he saw the universal joy which his downfall excited. He was compelled to appear before that revolutionary tribunal, which he had so long made the instrument of his assassinations, and being condemned by the accomplices of his crimes, was, together with the younger Robespierre his brother, Couthon, St. Just, Lebas, Henriot, and others, in all twenty-one in number, conducted, on the 28th of July, 1794, to the scaffold amidst the loud bursts of public execration. The name of Robespierre will long stand conspicuous in the annals of infamy, as that of a monster, who, in cruelty, surpassed all the tyrants of modern times, and all those of antiquity. The reign of terror was now speedily terminated. Legendre, the intrepid enemy of that tyranny to which he had nearly fallen a victim, went with a band of determined followers to the jacobin club, dislodged them from their den, and shut up their hall of assembly. The iniquitous judges and juries of the revolutionary tribunal, the proconsul Lebon, and the infamous Carriere, the depopulator of La Vendee, were successively brought to the scaffold. The revolutionary committees were dissolved and pursued by the public vengeance.

Notwithstanding these internal scenes of horror, which France during this period displayed, her external efforts were prodigious, and generally crowned with success. In this year, 1794, Europe was ensan-

guined by the most numerous and formidable armies that the modern world had ever seen collected. The republic had on foot in six armies 780,000 men, and the seven armies of the coalition amounted to not less than 356,000.* Carnot, the minister of the war department, had already produced a great revolution in tactics. Soaring above the ordinary system of circumscribed manœuvres, he formed extensive plans of operation, and combined the movements of different armies in an immense space, like the evolutions of a few regiments on a narrow plain. Jourdan, Pichegru, Moreau, Kleber, and several other generals whose names this war has immortalized, executed with skill the designs that were planned by his genius. Taking advantage of the superiority of their numbers, they exhibited a new mode of making war contrary to all former practice, and without regarding the strong places left in their rear, disconcerted by their bold movements the methodical system of their enemies. The arrival of the Emperor in the Netherlands to take the supreme command, inspired the allies with only a temporary ardour. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg was totally defeated by General Jourdan at Fleurus. Fearing to be turned by another army of 70,000 men under Pichegru, who had just defeated the allies and taken Ypres, and threatened by a third army which had compelled the Austrians under Beaulieu to evacu- Namur, he attempted to make a stand in the forest of Soignes, but was driven out with the loss of 7000 men, and obliged to retire towards Maestricht. The English, pressed by the superior numbers of Pichegru's forces, retreated towards Breda. The Emperor returned to Vienna, and ordered his armies to retire

* Segur. tom. 3. p. 93.

into Germany. During the remainder of the campaign, the republicans subdued the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, with Maestricht, Nimeguen, and Aix la Chapelle; defeated Clairfait near Juliers, and took possession of Cologne and Bon. In other quarters the French were also victorious. In Italy they made themselves masters of Oneglia. On the side of the Pyrenées they were equally successful, and defeated the Spaniards at St. Jean de Luz, Figuires, and Irun. It may not be amiss to observe, that in this year the revolutionary government, under the direction of Robespierre and his faction, signalized its atrocity by a decree ordering all the English who should be taken prisoners to be immediately put to the sword. This law, which would dishonour a council of savages, will be remembered to their eternal disgrace; while the noble and humane manifesto of the Duke of York on this occasion will reflect the greatest honour on his royal highness's conduct. To the credit of the French commanders it must also be observed, that this sanguinary degree of the Convention was not obeyed by any of the armies.

The campaign of 1794 closed with the most signal successes on the part of the Republic, and that of the following year completely changed the destinies of Europe. The frost having set in with unusual rigour, a strong column of French past the Maese and attacked the allies; who, being defeated at every point, retreated before them. On the 10th of January, Pichegru, having completed his arrangements, began his grand movement. His plans were judicious, and his means were immense; and though General Walmoden distinguished himself by his perseverance and courage, in his critical situation, he found it impossi-

ble to stop the progress of the republican army. Pichegru made a general attack upon Walmoden's position; the allies were defeated in every quarter. Clairfait was repulsed and driven into Germany. The French then advanced into Holland. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort, successively surrendered to their arms. The Stadtholder and his family retired into England. On the 20th January, Pichegru entered Amsterdam in triumph. In a few weeks the whole of the United States submitted, and the government was new-modelled, nearly on the French plan. In Spain the republicans were equally successful. Having taken Fontarabia, and made themselves masters of the greatest part of the provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, nothing could prevent them from advancing to Madrid. The Prussian and Austrian troops, as well as their commanders, being on bad terms, and the King of Prussia seeing no prospect of advantage by the war, entered into a negotiation, and concluded a peace with the Republic on the 20th April 1795. On the 22nd of July following, peace also took place between France and Spain. In two campaigns, the French republic had gained twenty-nine pitched battles, taken 152 cities and towns, 3800 pieces of cannon, 90 standards, and 70,000 muskets; killed 80,000 men, made 90,000 prisoners, and detached from the coalition two of its principal members. So tremendous a scene of exertion, and so unexpected a tide of success, baffled all tactical calculations, and astonished all Europe.

The Republic, however, was not less unfortunate by sea than successful by land. England annihilated its naval force, seized several of its colonies as well as the island of Corsica, and reigned triumphant on the

 Ocean.

Ocean. Its internal situation, likewise, was far from exhibiting a scene of tranquillity. The jacobins and anarchists, although they had lost their most eminent leaders, were yet numerous and powerful; and made several efforts to revive the system of terror. It was not till long after this period, and after the defeat of repeated conspiracies, that internal order was completely established. On the 9th of June the Dauphin, son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. died in rhe prison of the Temple. His disorder was of a scrophulous nature; and although it does not appear that medical aid was either denied or neglected, it is highly probable that his long confinement, if it did not cause, contributed at least to accelerate his death. The fatal shade which enveloped the existence and the end of this unfortunate child, excites reflections painful to humanity.

This year, also, the unfortunate expedition to the bay of Quiberon took place, where the English and the emigrants having landed and taken possession of the fort, were surprized by General Hoche, who killed or made prisoners the greatest part of those forces. The emigrant officers, clergy, &c. among whom were the Count de Sombreuil and the Bishop of Dol, were condemned to death by a military tribunal.

In the following campaign of 1796, the celebrated General Buonaparté first began to attract the notice of Europe. Being appointed to the command of the army of Italy, the rapidity of his movements and the brilliancy of his success excited astonishment. Five battles, in little more than a month, ended the war with Sardinia; Savoy and Nice were by treaty ceded to France. Buonaparté pursued his success, defeated the

the Austrian general Beaulieu at the bridge of Lodi, entered the Milanese, and gained possession of the whole of Lombardy. Wurmser, one of the ablest of the imperial commanders, arriving from Germany with a numerous and well appointed army, composed of the flower of the Austrian troops, Italy became the theatre of a bloody contest. The Austrians at first were victorious. They repulsed the French, and obliged them to raise the siege of Mantua. Buonaparté, however, after a series of bloody and well contested actions, at last drove Wurmser with the remains of his shattered army into Mantua, where he was closely besieged by the victor. The Austrians under General Alvinzy, made a grand but ineffectual effort to relieve the gallant Wurmsur and his besieged army. A bloody battle took place at Arcole, where the victory was decisive on the side of the French, and Mantua was at last obliged to surrender. Nothing could now arrest the progress of the republican arms. The French advanced into the papal territories, took possession of Rome, and compelled the Pope, the King of Naples, and the other Italian princes, to submit to such terms as the victors thought fit to impose. The northern part of Italy was formed into a distinct state, called the Cisalpine Republic. The French took possession also of Venice; a tumult having happened in that city, in which some French soldiers left in the hospitals had been murdered, this circumstance furnished them a pretext for making so noble an addition to their conquests. After the capture of Mantua, the victorious Buonaparté penetrated through the Tyrol; and after several hard fought actions with the Archduke Charles, who gallantly opposed but could not stop his progress,

advanced

advanced so near to Vienna, that the Emperor found it necessary to enter into a negotiation. A truce was agreed to, and a peace was concluded at Campo Formio, in October 1797, between the Emperor and the French republic.

During these transactions, a strong opposition arose in the Council of Five-hundred against the directorial government; and a division in the Directory itself, as two of its members, Carnot and Barthelemi, took part with the councils against the three other directors. The conduct of the Directory was severely censured; and, among a variety of other reforms, a retrenchment of expences in civil and military offices was proposed. The army was in the interest of Baras and the two other directors of his party, who, encouraged by this support, ordered the alarm guns to be fired, and the halls of the councils to be surrounded with a military force. General Angereau entered the hall of the Council of Five-hundred, seized Pichegru the president with his own hands, and ordering eighteen other members to be arrested, committed them to the Temple. Carnot and Barthelemi were implicated; but the former, taking advantage of the tumult, made his escape. All the rest were transported to Cayenne, from which Pichegru, Barthelemi, and some others found means to escape to Europe. The power of Baras and his party being now rendered complete, they projected new schemes of conquest, in order to give the armies employment and opportunity of plunder. On the occasion of a French general being killed in a tumult at Rome, the Pope was deposed and carried prisoner into France, and a Roman republic was erected. Switzerland was also invaded, and its government new modelled. In the beginning of the next year, 1798, a peace, on the basis

basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, was concluded between the republic and the states of the German empire.

On the conclusion of these treaties of peace, the numerous armies of France, wanting employment, became a burden not easy to support. An immediate invasion of Great Britain was therefore announced, and an army collected on the coast apparently for that purpose. The Directory, however, being convinced of the impracticability of this enterprise, if ever it was really intended, changed the project of the invasion of England for an expedition against Egypt, a country which promised a less important and splendid, but a more certain conquest. In the month of May, 1798, Buonaparté sailed from Toulon with an army consisting, according to the common accounts, of about 40,000 men, chiefly the veterans of the Italian army. His usual good fortune attended him on this occasion. Being arrived at Malta, he demanded permission to water his fleet, and, on the Grand Master's refusal, landed a part of his forces and seized on the island; which, with all its dependencies was surrendered to the French republic. After this conquest, leaving in Malta a garrison of 4000 men, he proceeded for Egypt, and, having escaped the vigilance of the British fleet under Admiral Nelson, arrived on the coast about the 1st of July and landed his troops. Alexandria was taken by assault on the night of the 5th of July, with the loss of between 200 or 300 men. Cairo, defended by Morad Bey with a considerable body of Mamalukes, was attacked and carried on the 23rd; and the decisive battle of the Pyramids, fought on the 26th, nearly completed the conquest of Egypt. The fatal blow which the French received by the destruction of their fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, has already been

been mentioned. Their land forces, however, remained in possession of the country. Buonaparté to secure and extend his conquests advanced into Syria; but the English squadron under Sir Sidney Smith having intercepted the flotilla, which was bringing his battering artillery and ammunition from Egypt, he received a decisive check at Acre. Sir Sidney Smith acting in concert with the Turks, the French were completely repulsed in every assault and obliged to return into Egypt.

This unprincipled attack on the Turkish dominions, in direct violation of the rights of neutrality, compelled the Ottoman Porte to declare war against the French republic. Russia also entered into an alliance with the Porte and with England. Austria seemed willing to avail herself of the advantage which this confederacy afforded. The Directory, aware of the intentions of the court of Vienna, ordered General Jourdan to cross the Rhine, in order to force the Diet of Ratisbon to declare against the entrance of the Russian troops into Germany. The imperial cabinet, however, being now assured of a powerful co-operation, resolved not to lose the advantage of so favorable a juncture; and a new confederacy appeared, consisting of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, and Naples. The war was now renewed, and for some time the French were successful. Their armies occupied the whole of Italy. The King of Sardinia was reduced to the necessity of renouncing the sovereignty of Piedmont, and retiring to the island from which he derived his title. And the Neapolitan monarch, who had obtained possession of Rome, was repulsed; and at last expelled from the continent, and obliged to retreat into Sicily. But the republicans soon met with

with a terrible reverse. On the 25th of March, General Jourdan was defeated by the Austrians near Stockach, and about the same time another French army received two successive defeats near Verona. About the middle of April, the Russian army under Marshal Suwarrow arrived. The campaign was now a series of rapid successes on the side of the allies. These, however, were not obtained but by a number of hard fought battles and ensanguined victories. In spite of the efforts of Moreau, Macdonald, Joubert, and others of their generals, the French were entirely expelled out of Italy.

Suwarrow now advanced into Switzerland, in order to drive out the enemy, and to enter France from that quarter. On this occasion General Massena displayed the greatness of his military talents. Knowing that the junction of Suwarrow's army with that already acting against him, would form a superiority of force by which he must be overpowered, he determined immediately to attack the latter, and in four different engagements, between the 14th and the 20th of September, repeatedly defeated and almost exterminated the Austrian and Russian armies in that quarter. By these decisive and successful efforts Massena completely disconcerted the plans of the Russian general, who on his arrival in Switzerland, found himself under the necessity of retiring into Germany. His retreat, over mountains covered with snow, and through roads almost impassable, was not effected without great difficulty and considerable loss.

The year 1799 constitutes a new æra in the history of France and in that of Europe. A total alteration of the constitution and government of the republic took place. The project is attributed to the Abbé Sieyes,

Sieyes, and the enterprising spirit and popularity of General Buonaparte rendered him a fit person to carry it into execution. That successful chief equally distinguished by his abilities and his good fortune, escaping the danger of the seas and the vigilance of the English, returned from Egypt and suddenly made his appearance in France. As the first step to that elevation, which was to render him the arbiter of the continent, the council of ancients appointed him commandant of all the troops in Paris and its vicinity, including the national guards, and the guards of the councils. They then decreed the removal of the legislative body from Paris to St. Cloud. On its meeting at that place, the sitting was very tumultuous. The director, Barras, gave in his resignation, and the assembly proceeded to deliberate on the choice of a successor to fill that office. General Buonaparté entering the room, attended by some officers and grenadiers, walked up towards the president, on which a violent agitation took place among the members. Some rising precipitately from their seats, rushed on to seize him by the collar, and one attempted to stab him, but the blow was warded off. An officer then entering with a body of soldiers, exclaimed, "General Buonaparté orders the hall to be cleared." The order was immediately carried into effect, and the sitting being resumed in the evening, a decree was passed abolishing the directorial government, and vesting the executive power in a consular triumvirate composed of General Buonaparté, L'Abbé Sieyes, and Roger Ducas. A new constitution was soon afterwards framed, which vested the executive power almost exclusively in the hands of General Buonaparté,

parté, who was then distinguished by the title of first Consul of France.

The recent losses which the republic had sustained, and the dangers with which it was threatened, had greatly weakened the authority of the Directory and prepared the way for this revolution. It was no sooner accomplished than affairs began to take a different turn. On Suwarrow's retreat, a misunderstanding having arisen between the cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna, the Russian troops were recalled. Massena had again entered Italy, but being overpowered was obliged to retreat into Genoa, where he was hard pressed by the Austrians. The first Consul then took the field. Massena capitulated, and marched from Genoa with about 16,000 men. And the battle of Marengo, gained by the first consul, rendered him the second time conqueror of Italy. In this battle fell the brave general Dessaix whose valour had contributed so much to the victory, and who had gained so much glory in Egypt. On this fatal day of Marengo the issue of the war was decided; a truce was immediately agreed to and peace was concluded at Luneville on the 9th February 1801, between France and Austria, principally on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio. The Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine were annexed to the republic; Venice, Venetian Istria, Dalmatia, &c. were ceded to Austria, and the Cisalpine republic was re-established.* In 1802, a peace was concluded with great Britain, by which the latter restored most of her conquests. The consular government then turned its attention to the re-establisment of the Catholic religion and the re-

* Vide treaty Camp. Form. Art. 3. 5. 6. 7, 8, and of Lunev. Art. 2. 3. 6.

duction

duction of the rebellious colony of St. Domingo; a bloody war was carried on against the revolted Negros of that island, without effecting their subjugation. In the mean while, the hostile conduct of France towards the commerce of Great Britain, excited a new war between those two powers, in 1803, in which the Batavian republic was necessarily implicated; and Spain, after some hesitation, joined in the contest. The naval occurrences of this as well as of the revolutionary war, are noticed in our historical account of the affairs of Great Britain. In this place it suffices to say that, in her maritime efforts, France has been uniformly unsuccessful. Her numerous armies encamped on the coast hurled their impotent threats of invasion, while her ports have been constantly blockaded and her menacing flotillas have never appeared on the ocean.

The year 1804, forms another remarkable æra in the history of France, by the change of her government from a republic to a monarchy. The enterprizing first Consul resolving to distinguish himself by venturing on a measure which Cæsar durst not hazard at Rome nor Cromwell in England, boldly changed the title of first Consul for that of Emperor of the French; and, in order to imitate, or rather to exceed the splendor of Charlemagne, the Pope was sent for from Rome to place on his head the imperial crown. The Cisalpine republic was also erected into a kingdom, and General Buonaparté by a singular junction of talents and fortune, adding the imperial and regal dignity to his military laurels, acquired the twofold title of Emperor of the French and King of Italy.

In the next year, 1805, which constitutes a fatal epoch in the annals of Europe, the new Emperor was called

 into

into the field to support his tottering throne against a powerful combination of enemies. The grand project of a new coalition of the continental powers against France, which Mr. Pitt had long meditated, and form which he had promised himself great effects, was at length brought to maturity. This plan, which was calculated to bring into the field a formidable force of about 500,000 men, was well conceived; but by an unaccountable series of mismanagement among the allies, it totally miscarried in the execution. The French Emperor was no sooner apprised of their preparations, than he immediately put his armies in motion and rapidly advanced into Germany. Disregarding the neutrality of Prussia, he marched through the marquisate of Anspach, and surprised the Austrians, who did not expect an attack from that quarter. They were defeated in several bloody actions, and Ulm, a place of great strength, the central point of their military plan, was in a manner, for which it is difficult to account, abandoned by general Mack, and taken possession of by the French. Whether this unaccountable evacuation of a place of such strength and importance was the effect of pusilanimity or treachery, or whether it ought to be attributed to reasons of necessity or expediency, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. The French, however, after this met with little opposition in advancing through Germany. Vienna, which had twice withstood the most violent efforts of the Ottoman power, and had never before opened her gates to a conqueror, surrendered without resistance. Thus Germany was conquered, and its capital in the hands of the enemy, before the other armies of the coalition reached the theatre of the war. Prussia, after holding public conjecture long

in suspense, refused to join the alliance, and the Swedish army asembled in Pomerania never advanced to the scene of action. The formidable army of Russia, commanded by the Emperor Alexander in person, at last entered Germany and advanced into Moravia. The French Emperor aware that a winter's campaign, against the hardy sons of the North, would exhaust and dispirit his troops now flushed with victory and conquest, determined to bring the affair to the speedy decision of the sword. He lost no time in marching against the enemy, and the bloody battle of Austerlitz, fought on the 2d of December, 1805, fatally decided the grand and important contest. Three Emperors, Napoleon of France, Alexander of Russia, and Francis of Austria, were present at this memorable battle, a circumstance unparalleled in military history. The French brought 100,000 men into the field, the Austro-Russian army, consisted of about 105,000. By feigning a retreat and exhibiting other symtoms of fear, the French Emperor drew the Russians and Austrians from their almost impregnable camp, and having by skilful manœuvres gained every possible advantage, made about day break, a general attack on their lines. Consummate bravery was displayed on both sides; but victory declared for the French. The loss of the Russians was dreadful, amounting to near half their army and all their artillery.

The disaster of this fatal day was followed by an armistice, and the Russians immediately began their retreat. A peace was soon after concluded at Presburg, between France and Austria. The latter was divested of the city of Venice, and all the former Venetian territories in Austria, Dalmatia and on the mouths of the Cataro, which, with a great part of the

Tyrol, were annexed to the Cisalpine republic. The changes made in Germany will be noticed in our account of that country. Thus, by the precipitancy of the Austrians, the tardiness of the Russians, the irresolution of the other powers, and in fine from the want of a well concerted plan steadily pursued, this formidable confederacy produced an effect diametrically opposite to what was intended, and instead of humbling France has laid the continent of Europe at her feet; and the French Emperor, by his resolute measures and rapid movements, profiting by the mismanagement of the allies, in the space of two months, dashed in pieces the second coalition of the continent, annihilated the Germanic constitution, and created his two brothers, Louis and Joseph, kings of Holland and Naples.

Germany now seemed to be delivered from the horrors of war; but the calm was of short duration. The present age may be justly termed the age of wonders. Prussia, which had constantly refused to join in the coalition, with such powerful allies as Austria and Russia, at a time when her co-operation might have turned the scale of affairs on the continent, undertook single-handed, a war against France, which had just now shivered their mighty armies to atoms. The successes of France, and the disasters of Prussia were more rapid than any recorded in modern history.*

The battle of Jena, fought on 14th, of October, 1806, between the French Emperor and the king of Prussia, in which the latter was totally defeated with the loss of 20,000 killed and wounded, and between 30,000 and 40,000 prisoners, as well as of near 300 pieces of cannon, with all his magazines, &c. while the French, if we

* See the sketch of Prussian history in this work.

may

may credit their bulletins, lost only 4100 men, proved the final overthrow of the Prussian power. Berlin experienced the fate of Vienna, and was obliged to open her gates to the conqueror. The Prussians losing province after province, and fortress after fortress, were driven beyond the Vistula, and the king began to re-assemble his scattered forces in the neighbourhood of Konigsberg. Russia justly alarmed at the successes of the French, who were now advancing towards her borders, poured her armies into Prussian Poland in order to stop their progress. The first attempt of the Russians, was to prevent the invader from taking possession of Warsaw. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful: they found themselves obliged to retreat into that city, which they afterwards abandoned on the approach of the enemy. Napoleon then took possession of Warsaw, and the Eagles of France were displayed on the banks of the Vistula. The French having passed that river, however, were for a long time, successfully opposed by the Russian army under General Beningsen, who highly distinguished himself by his brave conduct and military skill. Numerous skirmishes took place with various success. The battle of Pultusk and Eylau, appear to have been indecisive or even disadvantageous to the French; but at last the fatality which has attended all continental efforts began to turn the scale. Dantzick was besieged and taken; and the fatal battle of Friedland, in which the Russians were defeated, put an end to the contest. Peace was concluded at Tilsit between Russsia, Prussia and France. The king of Prussia was stripped of all his territories west of the Elbe. Westphalia was erected into a kingdom for Jerome Buonaparté. Saxony was also erected into a kingdom, to which the

Duchy of Warsaw, now wrested from Prussia, was annexed. Dantzick was again restored to independence. The Seven Islands were ceded by Russia to France and will probably at no distant period become an appendage to the British Empire.

Since the famous battle of Friedland, which was immediately followed by the peace concluded at Tilsit between the contending powers, the most prominent features of the history of France are the unjust encroachments of her emperor in Italy, particularly his seizure of the kingdom of Etruria, in the month of December, 1807, and of Rome, in February 1808, with his iniquitous conduct toward the Catholic king, his friend and ally. The kingdom of Etruria, or Tuscany, together with Parma and Placentia, are incorporated with the French empire; and Rome, with the whole of the papal dominions, are annexed to the kingdom of Italy.* The transactions of the French in Spain will be related in the historical view of that country.

Such have been the tremendous and extraordinary scenes which have lately been exhibited on the political and military theatre of Europe: what effects may yet be produced by the ambition of France, time will develope. The annihilation of the British commerce is one of her grand objects; to the attainment of which all her power and policy, however, are inadequate.

The history of France shews more distinctly than that of almost any other country, the gradual progress

* The states of Tuscany are united to the French empire under the names of the Department of the Arno, the Department of the Mediterranean, and the Department of the Ombrona. Parma and Placentia have received the name of the Department of the Taro.

of

of civilized society, and the reciprocal encroachments of one part of the community on the rights and privileges of another. At one period we have seen the fierce and independent Franks equally and individually voting in the general assemblies of the nations, and their king considered only as a military chief. We have then seen the nobility rise, and the people sink into slavery; the feudal system established in its most absolute form; the king reduced to the state of a paramount baron, inferior in wealth and power to some of his vassals, and enjoying only a nominal authority, the Commons excluded from the national assemblies, and those assemblies, at last, abolished, or fallen into disuse. We then find them revived, and the Commons restored, by Philip the Fair, to the right of voting in the great Council of the nation, on the new plan of representation, and not individually as under the kings of the first race.* At a later period, Louis XI. renders himself master of the deliberations of the states by corrupting their members, and, by his standing army, despoils the nobles of their authority without restoring it to the people: the government then becomes a despotic monarchy. In the civil wars during the reigns of Charles IX, Henry III, and the minority of Louis XIII, the aristocracy regains a great part of its former powers, of which it is a second time dispossessed by Cardinal Richelieu, whose vigorous and sanguinary administration again rendered the royal authority absolute, and reduced the independent nobles to the state of obsequious servants of the court. In the late revolution we have seen liberty regained, immediately degenerate into licentiousness; an ancient

* It will here be observed, that the assembly of the states was very different from the Champs de Mars of the Franks.

and

and absolute monarchy changed into a turbulent democracy, and have contemplated, with astonishment, a great and numerous nation governed for some years by a banditti of the dregs of the people. To complete the catalogue of wonders, we have at last seen this boasted republican government, for the support and for the overthrow of which, oceans of blood have been shed, vanish all at once like a dream, and a new military monarchy arise in its place.

In taking a view of those recent events which have rendered the history of France interesting above that of all other nations, it will be found that the revolution in the state proceeded from a revolution in the minds of the people. The age of Louis XIV. was that of magnificence and splendor, as well as of science and letters. The monarch was absolute, and the church was pre-eminent and powerful. Before the accession of the Capetine dynasty, the king was nothing: now the scene was changed; the king was every thing in the state. Nothing was seen but his august person. Nothing was talked of but the glory of the Grand Monarque, his brilliant conquests, and his invincible armies. This reign exhibited a splendid but heterogeneous mixture of the spirit of chivalry, ancient credulity, and modern ideas. Such an union of contrary elements could not be lasting; and the age of his successor, Louis XV, witnessed its dissolution. During almost the whole of his reign, a numerous and daily increasing party existed which aimed at the subversion of Christianity, necessarily involving that of all the existing governments of Europe. Inundating France with their writings, which prohibitions caused to be more eagerly read, they every where disseminated the principles of Deism and democracy. The grandees

as well as the people were corrupted by the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Diderot, &c. and so striking an inconsistency between institutions and opinions, was perceptible that some great explosion appeared inevitable, and was plainly predicted by Mabley and Chesterfield, as well as other judicious observers. At the accession of Louis XVI. the ancient institutions were no more than forms without power. The king had an absolute authority without any fixed basis; and the clergy were predominant, but religion was extinct; and the revolution in the public mind was completed by the part which the court of France took in the revolt of America, where the French officers and soldiers served their apprenticeship to the trade of rebellion, which they returned to teach to their countrymen. The unfortunate Louis XVI, and Maria Antoinette, at whose instigation and that of her party that measure was adopted, did not expect that the revolution of America would accelerate the subversion of their throne, and the establishment of a new dynasty.

In tracing the horrors of the revolution through all the stages of its progress, we shall find that all the calamities, with which it was attended, were the object of mutual distrust and political error. The commotions, the massacres, and all the outrages, which took place in France, originated in the jealousy and distrust which prevailed between the different orders of the community, and the different parties concerned in the revolution, and which were artfully fomented by those whose aim was the subversion of religion and government, and the pillage of all property. The misfortunes of the coalition may, in like manner, be traced to misconduct, to their want of confidence, concert,

and perseverance; to mutual jealousies, which neither the liberal subsidies of Great Britain, nor the sense of common danger, could remove. It has pretty generally been imagined, that if the king had made use of his military force, the revolution might have been crushed in embrio. This remedy, however, to have been efficacious, must have been timely applied, as democratic principles were scarcely less prevalent among the soldiery than among the people; and it is difficult to determine the period in which so decisive a measure would have been successful. In observing the irresolution of the court, the extravagancies of the democrats, the misunderstandings of the different parties, the impolitic manifesto of Prussia, which precipitated the fate of the royal family, the severe treatment of La Fayette and his companions; and the rash decree of the 19th of November, 1792, which contributed to arm all Europe against France, with a variety of other mistakes on both sides, this period appears distinguished by egregious errors, as well as by extraordinary exertions.

The revolution of France presents a singular and tremendous æra in the history of the world. Its distinguishing characteristic is, that, in every age of its progress, it has baffled all political conjectures, and all tactical calculations. Posterity will look back with interest and amazement on its rise, its progress, and termination; examine its causes, and contemplate its consequences. This terrible period, which having wrecked in seas of blood all former institutions, changed the destinies of one half of Europe, and exhibited virtue, criminality, wisdom, folly, military valour, civic courage, every thing in the French nation carried to an unprecedented extreme, and marked with an impression

pression of grandeur, of which the most celebrated periods of antiquity afford few examples, will furnish ample materials to the politician and the moral philosopher. Humanity will shudder at the crimes of the tyrants of France; but history will record the exertions of her warriors, and the virtues of her victims, illustrious patterns of religion, of loyalty, of conjugal affection, and filial piety. After ages, while they deplore the evils of the revolution, will admire the noble actions to which it gave rise: when national and party prejudice shall have subsided, impartial annals will register the gallant exploits of the heroes of France, England, and Austria; and the historic pencil will paint, with justness of colouring, the characters of the different actors in the great political drama which has so long agitated and astonished Europe. Future innovators, in fine, will here find an awful lesson; and mankind will contemplate, with horror, the delusions of that revolutionary frenzy, which sacrifices to a phantom, the happiness of the whole existing people, and hazards that of future generations.

CHAP. IV.

Religion — Government — Laws — Army — Navy — Revenues — Commerce—Manufactures— Population— Political importance—Language —Literature—Polite Arts—Education—Manners and Customs.

THE first Consul, Buonaparté, on assuming the administration, restored the Catholic religion; which, with every trace of Christianity, had been abolished by the revolutionary government. Liberty of conscience, however, is granted to all denominations. The hierarchy is nearly the same as before the revolution. At that period, France comprised about twenty archiepiscopal, and 130 episcopal sees. But it must be remembered, that several others are contained in the annexed countries. According to the new regulation of the Church, the ecclesiastical revenues consist of pecuniary stipends. The sequestration and sale of the Church lands during the revolution, rendered this arrangement necessary. Notwithstanding, however, the re-establishment of the Catholic Church, deistical principles are extremely prevalent; and a greater laxity in regard to religious opinions is observable in France, than in most other Christian countries.

Government.]—The government of France resembles that of the ancient Roman empire, being a military monarchy, with many of the ostensible forms of a republic. The laws, as well as the senates and councils, are fluctuating; but trial by jury now constitutes

* Young, vol. 1, p. 670.

a characteristic

a characteristic feature of French jurisprudence, and torture was abolished by the late unfortunate monarch.

Military force.]—The standing army of France, before the revolution, generally consisted of about 220,000 or 230,000 men.* On some occasions, and particularly in the wars of Louis XIV, the effective military force was augmented to 400,000.† The enthusiasm of the revolutionary war, and the tremendous attack of the combined powers, increased the forces of the republic to 1,000,000; and in the year 1794, as already observed, the six armies on the frontiers amounted to 780,000 men, besides the garrisons of the interior. No other nation can boast so numerous and well managed an artillery. The municipal army, or national guards, is a kind of militia instituted for the purpose of internal defence.

Naval force.]—The maritime power of France, has often been formidable. Louis XIV. disputed with England the empire of the seas, but the battle of La Hogue decided the contest. Since that time, France has made on that element many energetic, but ineffectual struggles. At the commencement of the American war, her fleet, combined with that of Spain, rode triumphant in the channel; but before its termination, her navy every where defeated, was reduced to a very low state. In every war with Great Britain, the French marine has encountered this fixed destiny, which is likely always to be the case. Ships may be built or purchased, but an extensive commerce alone can produce experienced seamen. At present the

* Vide Etat Militaire An. bef. and after the American war.

† Segur Fred. William, 3, p. 93.

naval

naval power of France, as well as her commerce, is almost annihilated.

Revenue.]—The national revenue of France has been variously computed; but from a comparison of documents it appears, that its amount has generally been about 20,000,000 sterling. According to the most recent accou[illegible], it is now increased to about 25,000,000 sterling, and the revolution has extinguished the national debt.

Manufactures and Commerce.]—After what has already been said of the manufactures and commerce of France, little remains to be added, unless we should perplex our readers with tedious details. The silk manufactures of Lyons, have already been mentioned; those of Tours, were the next in importance. The woollens and linens of Rouen, have also been noticed, as well as the manufactures of some other cities. We shall only add, that Abbeville, in Picardy, has long been famous for its fine broad cloths, and Louviere, in Normandy, has an excellent manufacture of the same kind.* Limoges is noted for one of druggets, as well as for about seventy paper mills. Nismes has considerable manufactures of silk, cotton, and thread, and Gange is famous for silk stockings. The manufacture of plate glass at St. Gobins, is esteemed the first in Europe; its superiority is generally attributed to the exclusive use of Beech wood for the melting. It is needless to say, that Cambray is famous for Cambrics, which from that place derive their name. Beauvais fabricates tapestries and printed calicoes, and is one of the most active manufacturing towns in France. Nantes, Mont Cenis, Chateau Roux, and many other places, boast of extensive iron works.

* Young's tour, vol. 1.

Before

Before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, A.D. 1685, France possessed the most flourishing manufactures in Europe. Since that time they have been on the decline, and the late revolution converted most of her manufacturers into soldiers.

Commerce.]—The gradual progress of the commerce of France has already been displayed. In 1784, the exports were 307,151,700 livres, the imports 271,365,000, leaving a balance of 35,786,700 livres, or 1,565,668*l.* sterling. In 1788, the imports amounted to about 12,500,000*l.* sterling, and her exports to about 15,000,000*l.** Her sugar trade with her colonies was formerly extremely beneficial, but these have, in a great measure, lost their importance by the revolt of St. Domingo, the convulsions which have agitated the other islands, and the obstruction of their intercourse with Europe by the naval superiority of Great Britain. Her trade with Turkey is, in time of peace, extremely lucrative, but at present her commerce is almost annihilated, what remains is principally carried on with Italy, Spain, Holland, &c. France may, indeed, at all times, carry on a considerable trade with the interior of Europe. Her principal exports are, manufactured silks, woollens and linens, wines and brandy; her imports are chiefly wool, hemp, raw silk, tallow and timber. Various attempts have, at different periods, been made by political and commercial writers to estimate the amount of the circulating cash of France. These, however, like all calculations of the kind, are vague and contradictory. In the year 1719, it was computed at 18,000,000*l*, and

* The imports of Great Britain the same year were about 18,000,000*l*, the exports 17,500,000*l*. Young, vol. 1, p. 520.

 that

that of Great Britain and Ireland at 16,000,000*l*.* The latest estimates make that of France amount to 90,000,000*l*, and that of Great Britain to 40,000,000*l*.† These calculations, however, involve many problems of difficult solution, and foreign to our present plan. Mr. Anderson's principles of calculation, which are,‡ the quantity of commerce and manufactures, the quantity of shipping, the population, and the number and magnitude of trading towns, taken collectively, will not, however, authorise the estimates of the present period. The two first are, indeed, extremely unfavorable to France in a comparison with Great Britain. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the acquisition of new territories, and the contributions levied on conquered countries, have greatly increased the circulating cash of France, which is undoubtedly much superior in quantity to that of any other nation in Europe.

Population.]—The population of France, before the revolution, was computed at 26,000,000, and notwithstanding the loss of men, with which she has purchased her bloody victories, the extension of her boundaries have given it a very considerable increase. At present, it is supposed to be swelled to the formidable number of 32,000,000, or rather of 33,000,000.

Political importance and relations.]—From the views exhibited in the preceding, and from the statements in the present chapter, the political situation of France is seen in a point of view that precludes the necessity of tedious repetition. It suffices summarily to remark, that Russia, Holland, Germany, and Italy,

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 85. † Pink. Geog. vol. 1, p. 255.

‡ Hist. Com. ubi supra.

being

being under her domineering influence, the ancient rivalship of Austria is rendered inefficient; and France must be regarded as arbitress of the continent, until some steady and resolute plan of European exertion, or some unforeseen revolution, shall shake her colossal power, and lessen her preponderancy. But notwithstanding her formidable military strength, her marine is reduced to such a state of depression, that Great Britain has as little to fear from her efforts, as at any former period, and has already shewed herself the only power that is able to counteract her plans of aggrandizement.

Language and Literature.]—From the tremendous display of arms, and the intricate maze of politics, the mind always retreats with pleasure to the pleasing views of literature, and here France affords to the intellectual eye an ample range. The French language, the most universally diffused of any in Europe, is a mixture of the Latin, Gothic, and Celtic. It owes its refinement principally to the efforts of Cardinal Richelieu, the illustrious founder of the Academie Françoise, and the epoch of its classical purity commences with the reign of Louis XIV. Its characteristics are clearness, precision, and colloquial elegance; but force and sublimity cannot be ranked among its excellencies. The literature of France, like that of the rest of Europe, was buried in the gloom of the middle ages, and appeared only at the general revival. But it soon made a rapid progress, and the reign of Louis XIV. was the age of literary, as well as military heroes. Corneille distinguished by grandeur, and Racine by elegiac elegance, Crebilion by tragic pomp, and Moliere by comic powers, may be named among a crowd of authors who do honour to their language

 and

and country. To mention the modern writers, eminent for talents and eloquence, would swell this article to a volume. Fenelon, the great master of placid instruction, will be read as long as learning and taste shall exist; and no one is unacquainted with the names of Rousseau and Voltaire, not less famed for their seductive eloquence, than infamous for their propagation of infidelity. In the bold exertions of inventive genius, and the profound investigations of philosophy, France cannot vie with Italy and England; but in elegant literature and exact science, she stands almost unrivalled. In the polite arts, she acknowledges no superior, except in her music, in which she must yield to Italy, and even to Germany.

Education.]—Previous to the revolution, the general education of youth was neglected in the same manner as in all other countries except Scotland. National education, however, attracted the attention of the new rulers, and among many plausible plans presented to the Convention, some were adopted, but with what success time must discover. Before that event, France boasted of twenty-one universities, of which the Sorbonne at Paris was the most celebrated.* But such institutions, however useful to the superior ranks, and to some individuals in the middle class of society, are inadequate to the general instruction of the people. Primary, central, and special schools, are now established; a primary school in each canton, a central school for each department, and special schools for the higher sciences. In these establishments, the education is at the public expence. There are three of these central schools in Paris, and each of them possesses a good library, with a collection of mathe-

* La Croix Geog. tom. 1.

matical instruments, &c. How far this arrangement may be adequate to the grand object of a national education, is not yet fully ascertained. The national institute has already been mentioned in the sketch of Paris, but to describe all the various literary and scientific establishments of France, would protract this article to a tedious length.

Manners, customs, and national character.] — The manners and customs of the French are well known, and, indeed, have been so often delineated, that the picture cannot boast the charm of novelty, but it is always pleasing. Vivacity, gaiety, politeness, are its principal features. That *savoir vivre* which enables a Frenchman to dispose his occupations and pleasures in an agreeable succession, constitutes his happiness. Amidst all the gaiety and elegance of French manners, it must be acknowledged, that domestic and personal cleanliness is less general in France than in England. Paris has long afforded models of dress to all Europe, and the fantastic fashions of that brilliant metropolis have not yet lost their sway, although London now boasts a rivalship in fixing the modes. Their diversions are pretty much the same as those of the English. Operas, balls, masquerades, and the amusements of the theatre, are common in all their great cities. They are fond of hunting, and in that diversion have adopted the English mode. In the academical exercises of dancing and fencing, the French excel most of their neighbours.

That mixture of personal qualities denominated national character, the inexplicable result of physical circumstances, and various modifications of society, is generally misrepresented through national prejudice. The French have, by their admirers or their enemies,

 been

been extolled as heroes, or despised as cowards, and the national character has been painted with every colouring of virtue and of vice. All these prejudices, however, are exploded among impartial observers; and candour will acknowledge, that a Frenchman is neither more virtuous, nor more vicious, more courageous, nor more cowardly, than his neighbours. The French have been taxed with national vanity, but what people are free from that foible? It not only reigns among the prejudices of the vulgar, but tinges the pages of the historians, the orators, and poets of all countries. That which alone can be deemed a distinctive feature of the French character, is their gaiety and sprightly vivacity. Physicians attribute this to the purity of the air, and their temperate mode of living; while they ascribe the proneness to melancholy, so prevalent among the English, to the quantities of animal food which they consume. They do not, however, consume a greater quantity of that kind of aliment than the better sort of the French, but they live more on its grosser parts,* while the latter, by their modes of cookery, concentrate a greater quantity of its essence in a less bulk; and this circumstance, together with the lightness of their wines, may, perhaps, be ranked among the principal physical causes of that vivacity for which they are so remarkable; for in several other countries the air is equally pure, without being observed to produce the same effect. From whatever cause this national characteristic may proceed, it contributes in no small degree to the happiness of the French, who are in

* It is well known, that the poorer sort in France eat much less animal food than the English. See our remarks on the scarcity of cattle, chap. 1. on France.

general

general observed to bear up against the vicissitudes of fortune, with a better grace than most other people. Even under the lash of despotism, and amidst the greatest national troubles, society in France has generally had a pleasing and lively appearance. Paris is now, as it has been for centuries past, the gayest capital in Europe; even during the horrors of the revolution, it continued to be the centre of dissipation. While in one part of the city, the revolutionary axe was immolating its numerous victims, in another the theatres were crowded, and every thing wore the aspect of joyous festivity.

BELGIUM,

AND

THE OTHER NEW ACQUISITIONS OF FRANCE IN THAT NEIGHBOURHOOD.

CHAP. I.

Face of the country—Rivers—Metals and Minerals—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable and Animal Productions.

THE recent annexation of the Austrian Netherlands to France, unavoidably creates a division in the geography and history of the Gallic empire. The political and civil, as well as the physical circumstances of these two countries, have long been almost totally different, and their late incorporation has not yet accustomed us to consider them in one point of view. In perusing a separate description of Belgium, the reader, however, will recollect, that it now constitutes an integral part of France. Brevity, therefore, is requisite, in describing a country which has now lost its principal characters of distinction, and is rendered practicable by the general uniformity of its geographical features. Its greatest length is about 180, and breadth about 120 miles.

Face of the country.]—The face of the country presents little variety. The western parts are uniformly flat, the eastern somewhat more elevated, but no part of the Netherlands presents any thing deserving the name of a mountain. Mont Cassel, a few miles from St.

St. Omer, is one of the most remarkable elevations, and overlooking a level country near the coast, commands an extensive, although not very picturesque view of a wide expanse of land and water.

Rivers.]—If, however, these provinces be destitute of mountains, they abound with rivers, the next grand feature of nature. The Rhine, being now made the boundary of the Gallic empire, might be classed among the French and Belgic, as well as among the German rivers. The Meuse, after its egress from Germany, pervades the province of Namur. The chief of the Belgic rivers is, strictly speaking, the Scheld, which rises eight miles north from St. Quentin, and in its course, of about 120 miles, receives the Scalpe and the Lys, the former near Mortagne, and the latter at the Sluise de Ghent. Beside these are several of inferior importance. Almost all the chief cities are connected by canals, which under the Austrian government have been too little the object of public attention.* The Netherlands are equally destitute of lakes as of mountains.

Mineralogy.]—A level country is seldom famous for minerals. Belgium, however, is not destitute of those valuable articles. Lead and copper are found in the province of Namur, and Hainault affords some mines of iron. Luxembourg supplies a very considerable quantity of this most useful of metals, and derives from its iron works a great part of its wealth. The iron mines of the forest of Ardennes, still retain their ancient celebrity. Marble and alabaster are met with in some of the eastern districts, and coal is found in considerable plenty.

Mineral Waters.]—Though Belgium contains no

* Phillips's Inland Nav. p. 48.

mineral

mineral waters of any considerable reputation, those of Aix la Chapelle and Spa, now annexed to the Gallo-belgic territory, have long been celebrated as the grand resort of the nobility and gentry of most European nations.

Soil.]—With a few trifling exceptions, such as perhaps every country admits, the soil of the Netherlands is exceedingly fertile, being mostly a rich sandy loam, interspersed with fields of clay, and sometimes of sand. The whole of these provinces, collectively taken, are excellently adapted both to corn and pasturage.

Climate.]—The climate, in a great measure, resembles that of the south of England, being somewhat foggy and moist, especially towards the coast. In the eastern parts the air is more serene and salubrious than in the marshy districts of Flanders.

Vegetable productions.]—From the similarity of climate, the vegetable productions of Belgium are also similar to those of England; and from the state of agriculture it was, even in distant ages, esteemed the garden of Europe, a title to which it has not yet lost its claim. The perpetual succession of excellent crops of clover, cole, turnips, flax, barley, and other grain, attract the attention of skilful foreigners; and an accurate observer among our own countrymen repeatedly praises the state of the Belgic agriculture, and thinks it preferable even to that of England.* Timber is not scarce, except in the maritime tracts. Several woods are seen in the centre of Flanders and Brabant. The more eastern and southern parts present striking remains of the ancient forest of Ardennes, which, with some interruptions, pervade Hainault and

* Marshal, vol. 2.

Luxembourg, from Valenciennes to Treves. Of all the provinces of the Netherlands, the duchy of Luxembourg is the only one that produces wine; but it is far from being of the first quality. The zoology is similar to that of England: the horses and cattle are of a large size.

Natural and artificial curiosities.]—No curiosities of nature or art have been remarked in these provinces by travellers. The uniformity of the country is unfavourable to the former; and the efforts of art have always been directed to objects of utility rather than of magnificence. It must, however, be acknowledged, that some grand ecclesiastical and civil monuments, of the middle ages, when the Belgic territories concentrated a great part of the wealth of Europe, and abounded in excellent artists, merit attention.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—General Observations on the Belgic Cities, Towns, and Villages.

Cities and Towns.]—BRUSSELLES, formerly the seat of the Austrian government, in the Netherlands, has generally been considered as the capital. It is situated on the small river Senne, which runs into the Dyle, and the Scheld. Being seated on several eminences, it has at a distance a grand appearance, and presents many beautiful points of view. It is well supplied with excellent water, and provisions being plentiful, cheap, and good, it has generally been esteemed an agreeable residence. It is ornamented with a noble square, one side of which is occupied by the vast Hotel de Ville, or Guildhall, and by several churches and fountains. The Imperial Palace, the ci-devant residence of the Austrian Governor, displays a considerable degree of magnificence. The population is computed at about 80,000, nearly the same number that each of the two largest provincial towns of Britain, Liverpool and Bristol, contains.

Ghent.]—Ghent, in Flanders, is a city of vast extent, owing to its being situated on several islands, formed by four rivers and a number of canals, and including gardens and even fields within its spacious limits. The circuit of its walls is about fifteen miles; but its population does not correspond with its extent, being supposed not to amount to more than 60,000 persons.

Some of the streets are broad and well paved; but with the exception of a few churches the public buildings display little that is worthy of notice. Ghent is memorable for being the birth-place of the Emperor Charles V.

Antwerp.]—Antwerp, in the ancient province of Brabant, is at present the third city, and was once the first in the Netherlands, pre-eminent in wealth and commerce, and the great emporium of Europe. It is situated on the æstuary of the Scheld, and defended by a strong citadel, erected by the tyrannical Duke of Alva. The harbour is excellent; but its approach is commanded by the Dutch fort of Lillo. From this, however, in the present connection between the French and Batavians, no inconvenience can arise, and the artificial impediments at the mouth of the Scheld either are or will be completely removed. But, although the commerce of Antwerp will undoubtedly revive, that city will never more become as it formerly was, the great mart of nations. Its trade is now turned into different channels, the manufactures by which it was supported have fixed their seats in other countries, and that immense capital, formerly employed in carrying it on, is now dissipated and transferred to other commercial towns, first to Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and now chiefly to London. Antwerp, however, still contains some of the wealthy descendants of its ancient merchants, and flourishing manufactures of linen and lace. The streets, houses, and churches, correspond with its ancient fame, and its exchange afforded the model for that of London. About A.D. 1568, its commerce was at its highest pitch, and the number of its inhabitants was computed at 200,000. At present about 50,000 are supposed to be all that remain of its ancient

ancient population, while history is left to record its former prosperity.

Bruges.]—Bruges, in the ancient province of Flanders, was once a great emporium of trade. In this respect it was prior to Antwerp, and during a long time had the superiority over that city in commerce and wealth. But the war in which the Flemings engaged with their prince, the Archduke Maximilian, A.D. 1482, having considerably affected its trade, and impeded the navigation of Sluys, which was the port of Bruges, the inhabitants of Antwerp and Amsterdam taking advantage of the event, by assisting the archduke, gradually gained a considerable share of the former trade of that mercantile city.* Antwerp, especially, now began to acquire that commercial pre-eminence, which during more than a century it continued to maintain.† The population of Bruges is now supposed not to exceed 20,000.

The next principal cities are Mons, Namur, and Luxembourg, more celebrated for their fortifications than their commercial importance. The population of these may without any great inaccuracy be thus estimated, Mons 25,000, Namur 20,000, and Luxembourg 12,000.

Louvain was once famous for its woollen manufacture, and is still a large city; but of slender population. Ostend has of late been the principal port, and sometimes enjoyed a considerable trade. In general it may be observed, that every traveller is impressed with surprise both at the number and great extent of the Flemish cities, towns, and even villages, in which respect Belgium surpasses every country in Europe, except the seven united provinces. The

* Hist. Commerce, vol. 1, p. 511. † Ibid.

principal

principal edifices are cathedrals, churches, and monasteries. The castles and houses of noblemen and rich merchants are rather remarkable for fantastic ornaments, and a little kind of prettiness, than for elegance of taste or grandeur of design.

To this description of the Belgic dominions of France, we must now subjoin that of a part of Germany, formerly comprised in the circle of Westphalia, and already mentioned in the list of the new departments. Unparalleled revolutions and extraordinary events have annihilated ancient boundaries, and converted not only the Netherlands, but all that portion of Germany which laid west of the Rhine, into an integral part of the Gallic empire.

The aspect, soil, climate, &c. of these new acquisitions, so nearly resemble the same circumstances of the eastern parts of the Netherlands as not to require any particular description. Like them, also, they contain many fine cities and fortified towns. Among these, Maestricht and Mayence are celebrated for strength, as are Liege and Aix la Chapelle for amenity and beauty. Liege is situated on several delightful eminences, on the banks of the Meuse, in the centre of a healthful and fertile country. While it remained under the dominion of its own bishop, who was a prince of the empire, the canonries and prebends were so rich, and the dignitaries so powerful, in consequence of possessing the right of electing their sovereign, that these circumstances, together with the number and opulence of the religious houses, and the amenity of its situation, obtained for it the name of the "Paradise of Priests," an appellation emphatically expressive of all the good things that this world can bestow. Since its annexation to France, it has lost

its claim to this title; and numbers of its holy residents have experienced an unexpected reverse. Liege has, however, on many accounts, been considered as a desirable abode, and the famous English traveller, Sir John Mandeville, who had traversed so many different regions, made choice of this city for his retreat in the decline of life.

Aix la Chapelle is situated in a valley, almost entirely surrounded with hills. The buildings are good; and the nobility and gentry, who resort to the Spa, passing and repassing, give to the town and its neighbourhood an animated appearance. The population of Liege may be estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000; but a number, perhaps, somewhat less than 30,000 may be assigned to that of Aix la Chapelle.

With these new and important acquisitions, France in her present enlarged state is the most compact sovereignty on the continent of Europe; and its boundaries the most exactly marked by the Pyreneés, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Ocean. The navigation of the Rhine, now free to the inhabitants of its right and left bank, affords to France, as it has long done to Germany and Holland, an excellent conveniency of inland trade, and many of the advantages enjoyed in maritime situations, without an exposure to the annoyance of naval war.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Historical View of the Belgic Provinces to the period of their annexation to France—Progress and decline of their trade and manufactures—Rise and fall of the great commercial cities of Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, &c.

THE history of Belgium, still more than its geography, requires to be treated separately from that of the country within the boundaries of which it is now included. This history, like that of all other nations, when traced beyond a certain period, is involved in impenetrable obscurity; but there is no doubt that the neighbouring parts of Germany first supplied this country with inhabitants. Our first knowledge of it is derived from the Romans, who gave it the name of Belgic-Gaul, having found it inhabited by the Belgæ, a Scythian colony, who from Asia had progressively advanced through Germany, and at an unknown period had taken possession of this country, with the maritime parts of Picardy and Bretagne, and afterwards, as already observed, established themselves on the southern and south-eastern coasts of Great Britain.

The Roman dominion was loosely extended over this country, and their possession of it precarious, being constantly endangered by the inroads of the barbarous nations of Germany. After the irruption of the Franks, from their ancient kingdom beyond the

the Rhine, Belgium formed a part of Neustria.* In process of time it was divided into a number of petty states; and its history is equally obscure and uninteresting till about the middle of the ninth century, when the Earls of Flanders and Hainault began to rise into notice. About 100 years later the Ducal family of Brabant first began to be conspicuous. The first mention of Antwerp is found in the year 517, when Theodoric, the bastard son of Clovis, king of the Franks, expelled the Danes from that city; but from its little importance, its name was for a long time lost in obscurity. In the year 631 the province of Flanders was in some parts covered with swamps, and in others with extensive forests, when Clotaire, king of France, bestowed its government on Lideric, son of Salvert, Prince of Dijon and Burgundy.† Lideric and his immediate successors were on that account styled Forresters of Flanders.

The history of the Netherlands is of a nature essentially different from those of most other countries, being less a relation of the cabals of courts and the operations of armies, than of the efforts of industry and the progress of trade. Their grand contest for liberty against the tyranny of Philip II. is the most important scene of warfare with which their annals are marked. Before the establishment of manufactures and commerce, the Netherlands were in the same poor condition as the rest of Europe. About the year 880, the houses there, as well as in England, France, &c. were universally constructed either of hewn timber, or else the walls were made of inter-

* D'Anville Histoire des etats formés en Europe, p. 70, &c.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 58, on the authorities of Flemish historians, whom he does not name.

twisted

twisted watlings or twigs, and plastered over with clay.* Ghent, however, must even at that period have been of some importance, as we are informed that the Danes, being reduced by King Alfred to accept of a truce, a large body of them retired from England, and having landed on the coast of Flanders, and ravaged the country, found a great booty in that city. Manufactures began to be established at an early period; and these soon became the basis of an extensive commerce. Under the embarrassments of the feudal system, and amidst the convulsions of prædatory wars, few of the other European nations paid much attention to commercial affairs. Venice, Genoa, and some other towns of Italy, with the Hans towns in the north, were the only marts of a systematic trade. The progress of commerce, however, in those dark ages, is difficult to be traced; nor do any documents exist, by which it is possible to fix the distinct periods of the establishment of the Flemish manufactures, which afterwards became so famous, and rendered the trade of the Netherlands so lucrative and extensive. Of these the woollen manufacture was the principal; and a very considerable part of the raw material was furnished by England; for, as we have already had occasion to observe, all the wool produced in this country, except a little of the worst, which was wrought at home into coarse cloths for the use of the lowest classes of people, was exported to the Netherlands, where almost all the cloth for the consumption of Europe was manufactured. This was the basis of that immense wealth to which these countries attained. Among the different Belgic provinces, Flanders was the first that ac-

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 82, on the authority of Eyndius's Chronicon Zelandiæ.

 quired

quired importance by trade, and Ghent and Bruges were the towns first distinguished for power, population, and opulence. The famous Hanseatic league had been formed, A.D. 1140; and about the year 1262, when the merchants of this famous confederacy made Bruges one of their four great comptoirs, may be dated the commencement of that immense commerce by which the Netherlands acquired so great wealth and celebrity. At this time the iron, copper, corn, flax, timber, and other bulky commodities of the countries bordering on the Baltic, began to be well known to the more southern nations of Europe; and their great utility caused an increased demand. But the mariners' compass not being yet known, the direct voyage between the Baltic and the Mediterranean in the course of one summer, was considered as both difficult and dangerous. A midway station, therefore, to which the traders from both seas might, during the summer season, bring their respective merchandise, was very desirable. Flanders was, by its geographical position, peculiarly adapted to serve as an entrepot, or general market; and, in addition to its local advantages, the perfection of its woollen manufactures, which were equally necessary to all nations, rendered that country the most proper for such a purpose. The traders, therefore, of the Baltic ports brought to Bruges the naval stores and other commodities of the northern parts: those of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, &c. also arrived with their cargoes of spices, drugs, fruit, cotton, silk, and a variety of other merchandize of Spain, Italy, and the Levant: wool, lead, and tin, from England, and wines, fruits, &c. from France, were brought thither, as to a general warehouse, for the reciprocal supply of all nations. This great commercial

mercial city, therefore, soon became the general magazine of merchandize for all Europe; and the country of Flanders, in general, as well as Bruges, the focus of its trade, became from this circumstance extremely rich and populous. Ghent also derived from this trade extraordinary advantages; but the opulence of these great cities rendered them exceedingly turbulent and seditious. The citizens were above all control, and Flanders exhibited a striking contrast with most of the other countries of Europe, where the feudal system was then in its greatest vigour, and the people were depressed to a state of insignificancy. In the year 1322, the Earl of Flanders, attempting to remove the mart from Bruges to Sluys, the inhabitants of the former place revolted, seized their sovereign, and kept him during six months a prisoner.* So great indeed was, at this time, the influence of the mercantile towns of Flanders, that the power of the earls was almost set aside. In the year 1325, the burgomasters of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, after having assisted the Scots in their wars against the English, concluded, by their own authority, a truce with England; and we find Edward II. negotiating with the magistrates of Bruges, and not with the earls of Flanders. Three years afterwards, however, the power and pride of the Flemish cities received a terrible check. Having again rebelled against their earl, their confederate forces were defeated with the loss of above 20,000 men. For some time they remained more peaceable, but their factious and turbulent spirit yet remained unsubdued, from which Edward III. derived great advantages in his wars with Philip of Valois for the succession to the crown of France. It has

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 288.

already been mentioned, that the famous James D'Arteville, although only a brewer of Ghent, had so great an influence in Flanders as to cause all the cities to revolt against their earl, who was obliged to seek refuge in France. The two great objects of apprehension to the Flemings in that age were, as Mezerai observes, the power of France on one hand, and on the other, the danger of disobliging the English, from whom they had the greatest part of the wool, which supplied the vast crowds of their cloth-workers, in their numerous cities, towns, and villages, with the important material of their manufacture. In this instance, the latter consideration preponderated, to which the influence of this opulent brewer, in no small degree, contributed.*

The year 1369 constitutes an important period in the Belgic history. Philip Duke of Burgundy having espoused Margaret, heiress of Flanders, united the whole Netherlands under his dominion. This caused a rupture between these provinces and England, in consequence of which Edward III. issued orders for seizing their shipping wherever found on the seas. The towns, however, of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, concluded a peace with that monarch, on the condition of their neutrality in the grand contest between France and England. The latter had always a strong party in this country, particularly in the city of Ghent, which was now grown the rival of Bruges, and exceedingly rich, powerful, and populous. The Ghentois, inflated with prosperity, rejected the authority of their prince, and openly aspired to independence. The English party was now triumphant under the management of Philip D'Arteville, who inheriting his father's wealth

* Rapin's Hist. Eng. vol. 1.

 and

and influence, with a still greater share of ambition, though perhaps with less prudence, assumed the functions of sovereignty. The city was, in 1382, unsuccessfully besieged by the earl, who was on this occasion assisted by the citizens of Bruges, the rival and mortal enemy of Ghent. These hostilities were attended with still farther consequences. Five thousand of the Ghentois, under the conduct of Philip D'Arteville, appeared before Bruges, from which city the earl marched out to the attack with 40,000 of the citizens, and 800 of his own troops. That numerous body, however, was, according to Mezerai, repulsed by the inferior forces of Ghent, who, entering with the retreating Brugians, sacked the city, and killed 1,200 of the principal citizens. The Ghentois, by this success, brought over to their party all the towns of Flanders except Oudenarde. The earl having escaped from the defeat and slaughter of Bruges, was obliged to implore the assistance of France; while D'Arteville and the Ghentois solicited that of England, which, had Edward III. yet been living, they would have readily obtained. It may be reckoned among the great political errors of Richard II, that so favorable an opportunity was lost of securing the interest of Flanders, and obtaining an important alliance against France. By neglecting at this important juncture to give aid to the Flemings, the party, which had so long favored and so often been highly beneficial to England, was irrecoverably crushed. The Ghentois, besieging Oudenarde, were attacked by the King of France, at the head of 60,000 disciplined troops, and routed with a dreadful slaughter. Philip D'Arteville, their commander, with 40,000 of their army were slain, and the political influence of the English in Flanders was for ever annihilated.

The commercial intercourse between that country and England, however, was not founded on temporary circumstances, nor liable to be annulled by casual incidents. Their trade, as already observed, was originally established, and still subsisted, on the broad and firm basis of mutual interest, or even of reciprocal necessity. Although Edward III. had already established a woollen manufacture in England, its advancement was slow; and this kingdom had, long after that period, need of the Flemings to take off its wool, and to supply it with luxuries and money, as much as the former were under the necessity of procuring from thence the material of their staple manufacture. This reciprocity of commercial interests, therefore, continued till the woollen manufacture of England was equal to the quantity of wool produced, and began to rival that of the Netherlands; an event which did not take place till about the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

To its trade with England, by means of the company of English merchants settled there in the reign of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, sovereign of the Netherlands, Antwerp first owed its rise to commercial eminence. Before that period, A.D. 1446, "there were," say Wheeler, "but four merchants in the city of Antwerp, and only six vessels merely for river navigation, they having then no maritime trade; but in a few years after the company's settling there, that city had a great number of ships belonging to it, whereby it was much enlarged, and houses therein, which used to be let for forty or sixty dollars, were now, that is, in the year 1601, let for 300 or 400, and some for 800 dollars, yearly rent."* The rapid increase of Antwerp in extent and population, and the enormous wealth

* Wheeler apud Anderson, vol. 1, p. 466.

which

which that great mercantile city, in the space of little more than a century acquired, together with its fall by the declension of its trade, exhibit, among many other similar instances, the immense advantages resulting from a spirit of commercial enterprise.

Till about the middle of the fifteenth century, the two flourishing and rival cities of Bruges and Ghent continued to be the central points of the Netherland commerce. Bruges, especially, was the grand emporium, the half-way storehouse between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, for the merchandise of the northern and southern parts of Europe. So great was the trade of this celebrated mart, that, in the year 1468, no fewer than 150 ships were seen arriving together at Sluys.* Three years afterwards a treaty was concluded with the Hans towns, stipulating that all their merchandise should be brought to Bruges only, as their sole staple in the Netherlands. In consequence of this treaty, the citizens of Bruges caused the port of Sluys to be widened, deepened, and made more convenient; and their commerce was now carried to the highest pitch.

The art of pickling herrings, invented in the latter part of the fourteenth century, had, as well as their woollen manufacture, considerably contributed to enrich the Netherlands, and to give extension and vigour to their trade. The province of Flanders, which had hitherto been the focus of commerce, was now in the zenith of its prosperity; but, in 1482, a circumstance took place which eventually caused the removal of its commercial advantages to Brabant. Ghent had nearly kept pace with Bruges in wealth and population; and

* And. Hist. Com. vol. i, p. 490, on the authority of Annales Flandriæ.

these

these two cities had been long remarkable for their turbulent spirit, which, on various occasions had prompted them to engage in hostilities against each other, as well as against their sovereign. The contest in which the Flemings engaged with the Archduke Maximilian, concerning the guardianship of his son Philip, their earl, proved fatal to their trade, which had rendered them so factious and powerful. The dispute having continued from the year 1482 to 1487, during which time great commotions had risen both at Ghent and Bruges; the people of the latter seized the person of the Archduke, and killed some of his principal ministers. The Emperor Frederic, father of Maximilian, therefore, being assisted by the towns of Antwerp and Amsterdam, whose inhabitants saw, with jealous eyes, the whole trade of the Netherlands centre in Bruges, blocked up the haven of Sluys; in consequence of which, the commerce of Bruges removed to Antwerp.* Amsterdam, at the same time, came in for some share, and, from that period, gradually advanced in commercial importance.† The Comptoir of the Hans towns being now fixed at Antwerp, the Hanseatic merchants erected a magnificent edifice, in which they lived in a kind of collegiate manner; and the English having previously fixed their staple in the same place, contributed to this removal of the Belgic emporium.

Although Bruges and Ghent now felt a fatal decline of their commerce and wealth, it may in general be observed of opulent cities, as well as of powerful empires, that except in extraordinary cases of sudden destruction, their declension, like their increase, is gradual; for wherever a vast capital is once accumu-

* Thuanus Hist. sui temp. lib. 51. † Ibid.

lated,

lated, it serves as the basis of new acquisitions, and may, in a variety of ways, be turned to advantage. Both these cities long continued to make a respectable figure. Bruges in particular was, for a considerable time, famous for its goldsmiths ware, and other rich manufactures.*

During the time that trade had thus flourished, the luxury of Flanders had been equal to its opulence, and that country, in the general diffusion of wealth and splendour, as well as in the haughty spirit of liberty which prevailed among its people, exhibited a state of things and a picture of society, very different from what was then seen in the neighbouring countries. So early as the commencement of the fourteenth century, when few of the streets of London and Paris were paved, and except Rome, Constantinople, and some of the commercial towns of Italy, &c. the houses throughout Europe were in general inexpressibly mean, Philip the Fair, king of France, and his queen taking a journey into Flanders were astonished at the riches and magnificence of Bruges, and the luxury of dress displayed by its citizens. Her majesty, especially, on seeing how splendidly the ladies were decorated with jewels and rich attire, exclaimed, with a mixture of indignation and surprize, " I thought that I was the only queen here; but I find more than 600 queens besides myself in this place.†"—To this testimony of Guicciardini may be added that of Philip de Commines, an historian of indisputable veracity, who says: " Although I have travelled over the best part of Europe, yet I never saw any country abound so much in riches, sumptuous buildings, vast expences, feasts, and all kind of prodigality."

* And Hist. com. vol. 1. p. 525.

† Guicciardini Descrip. Nether.

gality." He also says, that "the city of Bruges had a greater traffic of merchandize, and a greater resort of strangers, than any town in Europe."*

As luxury requires a variety of gratifications, and wealth affords the means of indulgence, the Flemings invented and improved a variety of ornamental as well as useful arts. The invention of grinding and mixing colours in oil is ascribed to John D'Eick, a painter of Bruges, about the year 1410. This artist, as Guicciardini informs us, sent many of his fine paintings into Italy to that great patron of the arts, Alphonso V, king of Naples and Arragon, and to several other of the Italian princes, who all set a great value on his pieces. Lorenzo di Medicis afterwards collected a number of those exquisite paintings. Many other great painters succeeded, who made themselves famous throughout Europe. The Flemish artists of those times travelled into Italy and brought back into the Netherlands a variety of improvements in architecture, painting, carving, and engraving on copper, which they and their scholars, travelling into different countries, diffused over all Europe. This author also ascribes to the Netherlanders, the invention of the art of staining glass, of which so many splendid specimens are seen in our ancient cathedrals, as also that of making tapestry; and he especially observes that they were the people who gave to the several points of the mariners compass, the names by which they are yet called among all the European navigators. They had, indeed, at one period, attained to so high a pitch of maritime greatness, that about

* Philip de Commines was contemporary with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and wrote towards the end of the fifteenth century.

the year 1469 the Duke of Burgundy's fleet was the most formidable in all Europe.*

Mr. Anderson supposes, that the trade of Flanders and Brabant had reached its meridian at the death of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, which happened in 1467, and quotes a passage from Sir William Temple, who says: "That by the great extent of a populous country and the mighty growth of trade in Bruges, Ghent and Antwerp, both the said Dukes (Philip the Good and Charles the Bold), father and son, found themselves a match for France, then much weakened, as well by the late wars with England, as by the factions of their princes."† On this passage, however, it must be observed, that in the reign of these princes, the city of Antwerp was only beginning to rise to that commercial eminence to which it afterwards attained.‡ Charles, surnamed the Bold, having succeeded his father Philip the Good, added to his patrimonial dominions the dutchy of Gueldre and the county of Zutphen, which he purchased of Arnold d'Egmont. During his reign, as well as that of his predecessor, the Netherlands had exceedingly prospered in their commerce and manufactures, both of linen and woollen; for although by the gradual increase of the English woollen manufacture, their exportation of cloth into England had been somewhat diminished, they had greatly extended it in other parts of Europe.

The rash wars of Charles, with Louis XI. and also with the Swiss, as well as his fall in battle before Nancy, have been mentioned in our historical memoirs of France. All, therefore, that is necessary, in this place, to be said on the subject, is, that his almost incessant hostilities caused him to impose heavy taxes on his

* Philip de Commines, lib. 3. ch. 5. † And Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 488.
‡ Vide Wheeler apud And. already quoted.

Flemish

Flemish subjects, which being increased by his successors, proved a considerable embarrassment to their trade; and that the translation of these provinces to the House of Austria, by the marriage of his daughter with the Archduke Maximilian, was productive of a series of events, which operated a considerable change in their commercial system. The first and principal of these was the war already mentioned, which took place between the Archduke and the cities of Flanders, and ended in the ruin of the port of Sluys and the removal of the great Flemish emporium from Bruges to Antwerp. From that epoch the latter city became the focus of the Belgic trade, or rather of the whole commerce of Europe. One of the measures, by which its progress was rapidly advanced, was the establishment of free fairs or marts for trade, two of which continued six weeks each. To these, merchants from all parts of Europe resorted with their different wares, free from customs, and vast commercial concerns were transacted with freedom and facility. But the circumstance which most of all contributed to the sudden rise of Antwerp was the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to India; by the Portugueze, who brought vast quantities of spices, and other Oriental merchandize to that entrepot between the northern and southern countries of Europe. This induced a great number of merchants from Germany and other countries to settle at Antwerp.* The principal merchants of Bruges also removed thither, when the Archduke Maximilian had, after a long contest which held from 1482 to 1499, reduced that city to subjection. So rapid was the increase of Antwerp, that about the year 1514, the

* And Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 9.

city

city was surrounded with a new and far more extensive wall, the first having been erected in 1201. In 1531, the canal from thence to Brussels was commenced, although twenty nine years elapsed before its completion. The same year, the celebrated Bourse or exchange of Antwerp, was built for the daily resort for the merchants of all nations. In 1543, that city received its third and last enlargement; and the new walls built of fine hewn stone, were elegantly adorned. The population at that period amounted to about 100,000 according to Guicciardini's calculation. The year 1550 may be regarded as the epoch when the prosperity of Antwerp was in its zenith. The strong and beautiful walls, which had lately been built round the city, enclosing a large space of ground for additional streets, 3,000 houses had, according to the same author, been erected on new foundations, and Paris excepted, scarcely any city on this side the Alps surpassed it, in the number of its inhabitants. As it was one of the principal cities of Europe in extent and population, it was also the first, perhaps, in the world in respect of its trade and opulence.

To produce this important effect we have already seen that various causes contributed, and at the period now under contemplation, a singular concurrence of these may be observed. Mons. Huet, bishop of Avranches remarks, that "the persecutions raised in Germany on account of religion in the reign of Charles V, in France under Henry II, and in England under Queen Mary, forced much people to settle at Antwerp, where a vast concourse of all European nations was to be seen, it being then the most celebrated magazine of merchandize in Europe, if not in the whole world; it having been at this time a common

thing

thing to see 2,500 ships in the Scheld at one time, laden with all sorts of merchandize."* This last assertion must, however, be read with some degree of caution; and our ideas on the subject must be rectified by a comparison of the merchant vessels of that period with those of the present age; for of these 2,500 vessels, it is reasonable to presume, that the greatest part were only of the size of our small craft and coasters. The same observation must be held in view when we are told that 400 vessels often came up the Scheld in one tide. Names and numbers, without definitions and descriptions, give no distinct ideas. The deficiency must, in consequence, be supplied by the contemplation of collateral circumstances; and to this it is frequently necessary to have recourse in reading the works of historians. Much of the trade of Antwerp, however, was carried on in foreign bottoms; and in shipping and naval strength, that city was far inferior to Venice and Genoa, in their meridian greatness. Guicciardini, the best writer on the affairs of the Netherlands, informs us, that the city of Antwerp contained 13,500 houses, and that lodgings were extravagantly dear; that the number of foreign merchants, with their factors and servants who constantly resided there, was not less than 1,000, that one of these, the famous Fugger of Augsburg, died worth 6,000,000 of crowns, an enormous sum in that age; and that many of the native inhabitants possessed property to the amount of from 200,000 to 400,000 crowns.† In this

* Huet. apud Anderson, vol. 2. p. 87.

† Of the wealth and generosity of Fugger a memorable instance is recorded. Charles V. in order to defray the expences of his expedition against Tunis, had borrowed great sums of this celebrated merchant, who inviting that monarch to partake of an entertainment at his house caused a fire to be made in his hall entirely of cinnamon, into which he threw all the emperor's bonds, in his presence. And Hist, com. vol. 2. p. 60. The

acmé

acmé of its glory, Antwerp contained 42 churches, 22 market places, with 220 streets; and from the Scheld, on which it stands in the form of a crescent, were cut eight fine canals for conveying laden ships into the heart of the city. Antwerp thus rising on the decline of Bruges, advanced, in the short space of a century, to the greatest height of commercial prosperity, of which Europe had at that time furnished any example.

To the reader who delights in tracing the placid progress of commerce, rather than the sanguinary march of conquest, the history of the Netherlands, until the middle of the sixteenth century, exhibits a scene peculiarly interesting and pleasing. The hostilities between the Ghentois and the Brugians, and afterwards between those cities and the Archduke Maximilian their sovereign, of which the consequences have here been developed, are almost the only disgusting feature which the picture displays amidst a long continued series of progressive improvements. But here we must fix the epoch at which the prosperity of these provinces began to decline. The year 1550 is memorable for the rigorous edict of the Emperor Charles V. against the Protestants of the Netherlands, and for the establishment of several tribunals of inquisition for their trial and punishment.* This measure was the primary cause of all the changes which afterwards took place in the Netherlands; and its effects were immediately felt in the terror and consternation which began to appear amongst the merchants and manufacturers, and

Emperor would undoubtedly regard this as an agreeable burnt offering and derive from it a high relish to his entertainment.

* Heiss Hist. Emp. vol. 2. p. 108.

the damp that it cast upon industry. Though in regard to the foreigners, especially the English, whose trade alone with Antwerp was supposed to maintain 20,000 of its inhabitants, besides a greater number in other parts of the Netherlands, no inquisitorial tribunal was erected in that city; yet the apprehension of so tyrannical a measure not a little disturbed its tranquillity, and damped the activity of its trade. Where the mind is not free its energy declines, and a lethargic apathy paralizes all human exertions. It was not, however, till the year 1567 that the placid picture of the Belgic history was wholly reversed. At that fatal period, the court of Spain resolving to adopt the most violent measures for the establishment of spiritual tyranny over a people who idolized their liberty, great and terrible consequences ensued. On the first report of the Duke of Alva's approach at the head of 10,000 veteran troops, the manufacturers and traders began to retire from the Netherlands in such numbers, that the Duchess of Parma, who then governed those provinces, complained, in her dispatches to Spain, of the emigration of above 100,000 persons, who in a very short space of time had left the country and withdrawn both their money and goods. These being daily followed by others, that princess, foreseeing the impending ruin, resigned her government, in order to avoid being an actress in the calamitous drama, or a spectatress of those evils which she could not prevent. She was succeeded by the Duke of Alva, whose sanguinary proceedings on account of the past insurrections, and in support of the newly-established inquisition, eventually caused to Spain the loss of a great part of the Netherlands, and sapped the foundations of the strength of that monarchy.

 One

One of the first measures of this tyrannical governor was the seizure of the Counts of Egmont and Horn, which was quickly followed by their execution. Both these noblemen were Catholics, and in their fate the Protestants might clearly see how little mercy they had to expect. The conduct of the Duke d'Alva was such as justified their apprehensions; and such numbers emigrated, that France, Germany, and England, especially the two latter, were crowded with those industrious people, who sought an asylum from civil and religious tyranny, and carried into those countries arts and manufactures before known only in the Netherlands.* From this epoch may be dated the fall of the Flemish manufactures, and the rise of those of England and France. A number also of those Netherlanders, who had been accustomed to a seafaring life, fitted out privateers to cruise against their oppressors, and found in foreign ports a ready market for their booty as well as a secure retreat. In England especially, which from its situation was extremely well adapted to this purpose, they were for some time allowed to enter the ports and dispose of their prizes; but Queen Elizabeth, apprehending the power of Philip, was, by the remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, induced to withdraw that permission. This measure, however, which seemed so favorable, proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of Spain; for the adventurers being excluded from the English ports, found themselves under the necessity of procuring one of their own, and in this view attacking the Brille rendered themselves masters of the place by assault.† This was the first considerable transaction of a war which, for its duration, obstinacy of contest, and

* Meterani Hist. Belg. lib. 3. † Grotius lib. 2. Fam. Strada, &c.

important effects, may be ranked among the most remarkable of those that are recorded in history.

The leading events and final issue of this memorable contest will be exhibited in our view of the seven United Provinces, now the kingdom of Holland, to the history of which it properly belongs. In this place, it suffices to notice such events as took place in the provinces of which we are now speaking, and the effects they produced on their political and commercial system. One of the most remarkable of those transactions is the memorable sack of Antwerp by the mutinous garrison. This was the first direct attack on the commerce and wealth of this celebrated city, and a fatal prelude of its almost total ruin nine years after that calamitous event.

The Duke d'Alva, perceiving that his sanguinary measures had so completely exasperated the people of the Netherlands against his person and government as to preclude every hope of reconciliation, and finding their reduction by force equally impracticable, petitioned to be recalled, and, to his eternal disgrace, retired from his government with the inhuman boast, that in the space of five years he had caused 18,000 heretics to fall by the hand of the executioner.* He ought rather to have boasted that he had done an irreparable injury to his country, and paved the way to the decline of the Spanish monarchy. Alva was succeeded by Requesens, commendator of Castille, a man of a mild and conciliating disposition. The first measure of his government was the pulling down of the insulting statue of his predecessor, erected at Antwerp. No act could have been more popular; but Alva's tyrannical conduct had rendered all con-

* Grotius, lib. 3.

ciliatory measures ineffectual. The revolted provinces of Holland and Zealand, smarting under injuries too recent and too grievous to be soon forgotten, persisted in their determination of not returning under the obedience of Spain; and the war was continued for some time with various success. But the superiority of the Spaniards in numbers and military skill, at length turned the scales in their favour; and the infant republic was on the verge of ruin, when an almost unprecedented outrage re-united all the provinces in one common cause.

Large arrears were now due to the Spanish soldiers, who began to be clamorous for payment, and the sudden death of Requesens the governor, at that critical juncture, increased the mutinous spirit which prevailed among them. The troops, which were quartered at Alost, casting off all subordination, marched to Antwerp; where being joined by the garrison of the citadel, this formidable body of mutineers consisting of nearly 6000, or whom those of Alost composed about one-half and those of the citadel the rest, most of them Italians, bold, licentious, and desperate, plundered in the most merciless manner the richest city in Europe, and made a terrible slaughter of its inhabitants.*

The other cities being threatened with a similar fate the common danger united all of them, except Luxembourg, in a general confederacy, denominated the pacification of Ghent; which had for its object the

* For a circumstantial account of this terrible transaction, see Thuanus lib. 62, and Watson's Hist. of Philip II. The latter computes the booty at 8,000,000 of guilders, besides an immense quantity of rich merchandize; and says that above 7000 of the inhabitants fell in the carnage.

 expulsion

expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient constitution.

Don John of Austria, appointed successor to Requesens, now arrived in the Netherlands, where he found every thing in confusion. He saw the union of the provinces too firmly consolidated to be easily dissolved, and was sensible of the necessity of conciliation where conquest was impracticable. He, therefore, agreed to the pacification of Ghent and the dismissal of the Spanish army; in consequence of which concessions, he was acknowledged the king of Spain's lieutenant and governor of the Netherlands. The halcyon days of these countries now seemed to return. Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and commerce began to raise her head and dispense her blessings. But this tranquil state of things did not coincide with the ambitious views of Don John, who, remembering the laurels which he had gained at Lepanto, revolved in his mind vast undertakings, and was desirous of finding a theatre for the exercise of his military talents. Seeing the Belgic states determined to impose strict limitations on his authority, he broke through the articles of the pacification, seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish troops. Incited by ambition and animated by his former successes, he thus lighted anew the flames of civil war, and, looking beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, projected a marriage with the Queen of Scots and the acquisition of the two British kingdoms. Queen Elizabeth, penetrating his designs, now openly espoused the cause of the Flemings, and afforded them her protection. She sent them a sum of money, and soon after a body of troops. Prince Casimir, Count Palatine of the

Rhine,

Rhine, also engaged in their support, and collected a body of troops for that purpose. Thus every prospect of tranquillity vanished, and the ambition of Don John of Austria renewed the calamities which the tyranny of Alva had first introduced.

The Netherlanders, however, although strengthened by foreign alliances, were weakened by internal dissentions. The Duke D'Areschot and several other Catholic noblemen, jealous of the Prince of Orange, who had been elected governor of Brabant, privately invited the Archduke Matthias, brother of the Emperor Rodolph II, to the government of the Belgic provinces. This prince, accepting the proposal, arrived suddenly at Antwerp, to the great astonishment of the States, who had never been informed of the affair. Actuated by maxims of the most judicious policy, and the most disinterested patriotism, the Prince of Orange, contrary to the general expectation, embraced the interests of the Archduke; and, by this refinement of policy, divided the German and Spanish branches of the house of Austria. Don John being then deposed by a decree of the States, Matthias was appointed governor-general of the Netherlands, and the Prince of Orange his lieutenant. The cause of liberty, however, was greatly injured by the jealousies which existed between the Catholics and the Protestants; and the Prince of Orange, by reason of his moderation, was suspected by both parties. In the mean while Don John, being reinforced with a strong body of veteran troops, commanded by the famous Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, defeated the army of the States at Gemblours. The Archduke receiving no support from Germany, was coldly regarded by the States; and the Duke of

 Anjou,

Anjou, brother to Henry III. king of France, was, through the prevalence of the Catholic interest, declared defender of the liberties of the Netherlands. Don John, taking advantage of those fluctuating counsels, carried on with vigour his military operations, and made himself master of several important places. But being worsted at Riemenant, and seeing little prospect of success against the numerous armies assembled under Prince Casimir and the Duke of Anjou, the chagrin of disappointed ambition is supposed to have occasioned his death at that juncture; while some ascribe it to poison administered by the order of Philip, who dreaded his ambition. He died unexpectedly in the flower of his age, while revolving vast projects, and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who became the most celebrated general of his age.

The jealousies of the confederates in the mean while clogged all their measures. The Duke of Anjou and Prince Casimir were at the head of two considerable armies, but both of them equally useless to the States. The Protestants were jealous of the former, the Catholics of the latter; and the commanders were jealous of each other. This religious and political discordancy, induced William Prince of Orange to project the scheme of the union of the seven provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Guelderland, which was concluded at Utrecht, January 15th, 1579. From that memorable epoch, must be dated the commencement of the Dutch or Batavian republic, the history of which, hitherto involved in that of the Netherlands in general, begins now to form a distinct article, which will be treated in its proper place.

In

In consequence of this union of the Seven Provinces and their assumption of independence, the court of Spain set a price on the head of the Prince of Orange, and a desperado soon made an attempt on his life for the sake of obtaining the reward. The joy of the Spaniards, on a false report of his death, could be equalled only by that of the Flemings when assured of his safety. The States were now more than ever sensible of the value of that great man; but their jealousies prevented them from conferring on him the supreme government. The Duke of Anjou had assembled a considerably army, and raised the siege of Cambray; but a romantic project which he had formed of espousing Queen Elizabeth, induced him to trifle away his time in England; while the Prince of Parma was carrying rapidly forward his operations in the Netherlands. On his return, he totally lost the confidence of the States by an ill-judged attempt on their liberties, and was obliged to retire into France. The Archduke Matthias having also, on the elevation of his rival, returned to Germany, the Duke of Parma and the Prince of Orange, the two most skilful commanders of the age, were left to dispute the possession of the Netherlands; which, instead of being the peaceful seat of industry and commerce, now became the great military school of Europe, to which men of courage from all nations resorted for the study of tactical science.

The Duke of Parma was far superior to his predecessor, both in negotiation and war. Possessing, perhaps, an equal share of ambition, his prudence directed it to attainable objects. With views less romantic and plans equally vast, he remedied, as far as was possible, the mismanagement of his predecessors,

 and

and to his courage and conduct Spain was indebted for the preservation of the most valuable part of her Begic dominions. He took the cities of Marsien and Maestricht by assault, concluded a treaty with the southern provinces, gained the confidence of the Catholic party in general, and, by his clemency and address, gave a new turn to affairs. Having reduced Brussels and Ghent, he advanced towards Antwerp, and made vast preparations for the siege of that large and opulent city. On his approach the inhabitants opened the sluices, broke down the dykes, and buried the adjacent country under a wide inundation; which, in spite of his diligence and care, swept away his magazines. Possessing a genius fertile in expedients, and capable of forming and carrying into execution the greatest designs, instead of being discouraged at this misfortune, he made the most vigorous exertions for reducing the city. For this purpose he caused to be cut with prodigious labour and expence, but with astonishing expedition, a canal from Stochem to Calloo, in order to carry off the waters which inundated the country; and, in the next place, erected that stupendous monument of his military genius, a fortified bridge across the wide and deep æstuary of the Scheld, to prevent all communication between the town and the sea. The Antwerpians attempted to blow it up, by sending against it fire-ships filled with powder and other combustibles; but perceiving the failure of their schemes and the progress of the plans of attack, which baffled every mode of defence, they at last agreed to surrender the city by capitulation, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Spanish monarch. This capture happened A.D. 1585, and was rendered fatally memorable by the avarice and

cruelly

cruelty of the conquerors. On various occasions the Spanish and Italian troops, of whom the Duke of Parma's army was composed, committed, in defiance of his anthority, the most flagrant enormities; and the opulent city of Antwerp presented too tempting a bait to their rapacity.* These military desperadoes, not less ferocious in victory than courageous in combat, casting off all restraint and defying all authority, plundered the city for the space of three days. The booty was estimated at more than 2,000,000 of pistoles, and an immense quantity of rich merchandize and furniture was destroyed by fire. Near 3000 of the inhabitants are supposed to have fallen by the sword: about 1500 perished in the flames or were trampled to death, and as many were drowned in the Scheld.† Before this memorable catastrophe, Antwerp is said to have been the most opulent city in the world;‡ but this was the period of its commerce and splendor. The sack of Antwerp gave the finishing blow to the trade of those provinces, which have since been known by the name of the Austrian Netherlands. The principal manufacturers and traders removed to other parts. England and Germany were enriched by a valuable accession of skilful and industrious subjects; but Holland, above all other countries, profited by this event; and Amsterdam, which, next to Antwerp, was already the chief trading city of the Netherlands, received a vast increase of wealth and population. We are informed, that no less than 19,000 persons at once emigrated from Antwerp into Holland,

* Marsien and Maestricht had already felt the effects of their rapacity and licentiousness. Vide Grot. Fam. Strada and other historians.

† Vide Fam. Strada's Hist. de Bello Belgico. ‡ Thusanus, lib. 62.

Holland, and most of them to Amsterdam.* The principal merchants also of Antwerp removed with their effects and settled in that city, which now became a great emporium of trade.† Thus Antwerp was stripped of its wealth and prosperity, while arts, ingenuity, commerce, and industry, crowded into Amsterdam with a rapidity of which history affords few parallel instances. Domestic jealousy indeed, and the rivalry of commerce, scarcely less than the valour of the Spaniards and the military skill of their general, contributed to the downfall of that flourishing city. The Hollanders, especially those of Amsterdam, hoped to profit by its reduction ; rightly judging that all the Protestants would leave it as soon as it should fall into the hands of the Spaniards : and, actuated by this narrow policy, they constantly obstructed every measure proposed for its relief. After its ruin was accomplished, the same policy rendered it irretrievable. The Hollanders sunk in the Scheld a number of vessels laden with stones, in order to obstruct its navigation for vessels of considerable burden ; and erected forts on the opposite bank which entirely commanded that river, and cut off all communication between Antwerp and the sea.

In this view of the Netherlands we have had an opportunity of contemplating an interesting portion of commercial history. We have seen the effects of the bigotry and tyranny of Philip II. of the cruelty of Alva, of the ambition of Don John of Austria, and of the valour and prudence of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, as well as those of the mutual jealousies of the Belgic states and the rivalship of their

* And. Hist. Com, on the authority of Werdenhagen.

† De Witt. Int. of Holland,

commercial cities. And it may here be observed, that the mismanagement of Spain caused her the loss of a considerable part of the Netherlands, and the impoverishment of the rest; while the jealousies and narrow politics of those provinces prevented them from forming the whole into one permanent and powerful confederacy. The remaining part of this portion of history now becomes less important. Except the Seven United Provinces, the countries, in their impoverished state, continued under the dominion of Spain till the reign of Louis XIV, when a considerable part of them was conquered by France; and, at the peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle in 1668, was confirmed to that crown. The rest remained, until the late revolution, an appendage to Austria.

The prosecution of the war between Spain and the revolted provinces, must be referred to the history of the Batavian republic. The provinces now under consideration, have afforded ample narratives of campaigns and martial exploits. It will neither be compatible with our plan, nor interesting to the reader, to enter into tedious details of military operations a thousand times repeated, and of which no remarkable consequences now exist. It suffices to say, that Belgium, instead of being as formerly the seat of commerce, has, during the space of a century and a half, been frequently the theatre of war, and the grave of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Germans, who resorted thither, not indeed like their ancestors in the character of merchants, but as military adventurers in quest of promotion and glory. The war of the Spanish succession, so vigorously carried on under the conduct of those celebrated generals

generals Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, transferred these provinces to the house of Austria. In the war of 1741, they were all, except Luxembourg, conquered by France, but restored at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, A.D. 1748.

In the year 1789, a revolution happened in Belgium, which threatened the annihilation of the sovereignty of Austria over that country. The quarrel originated from the extension of the emperor's prerogative, and that prince using force for the assertion of his claims, the Brabanters immediately flew to arms, and soon collected a considerable force. A proclamation issued by Count Trantmansdorff, the governor, directed that no quarter should be given to the insurgents, and that the villages in which they concealed themselves should be set on fire. General Dalton, with an army of 7000 men, marched to retake the forts which the revolters had seized, proclaiming his intention of carrying them by assault, and of putting every soul to the sword. In opposition to this sangunary proclamation, the insurgents, who now assumed the name of patriots, published a manifesto dated at Hoogstratin in Brabant, 24th October, 1789, in which they declared that the emperor had, by his infringement of the constitution, by various oppressions, &c. forfeited his right of sovereignty. All were exhorted to arm in defence of their country, strict orders were issued against depredation and pillage, and banishment was denounced against all who adhered to the emperor. No event recorded in history, exhibits an example of a more determined resolution, and a more dauntless courage, than was exhibited by the Belgians on this trying occasion. Almost

Almost every town shewed its determination to resist the imperial court; and all ranks of men, and even of women, displayed the most enthusiastic attachment to military affairs. The ecclesiastics, whose revenues and power the emperor had considerably diminished, gave unequivocal proofs of their patriotism and courage. A formidable army was raised, and the insurgents, after some successful skirmishes, made themselves masters of Ostend, Bruges, Tournay, Mechlin, and Ghent, while General Dalton was obliged to retire to Brussels. A battle was fought before the city of Ghent, in which the patriots were victorious, although with the loss of about 1,000 men. This terrible revolt, was not more distinguished by the determined resolution and valour of the Belgians, than by the savage cruelty of the imperial troops. No example is found in history, of greater inhumanity than that which this civil war exhibited, and which, in contemplating the humane manners of modern times, would appear absolutely incredible. Orders were given to plunder and destroy without mercy, and neither women nor sucking infants were spared. By these monstrous cruelties, the Austrians ensured success to the patriots. The whole of Brabant, Flanders, and Maes, unanimously declared in their favour, and published a memorial for their justification, in which, after a long enumeration of their reasons for taking up arms, they made use of these remarkable words, which ought ever to be sounded in the ears of tyrants and their ministers. "The natural courage of a nation, roused by repeated injuries, and animated by despair, will rise superior to those last efforts of vindictive tyranny, and render them as impotent and abortive,

abortive, as they are wicked and unexampled." This memorial concluded, by declaring Belgium for ever independent of the house of Austria. It must be acknowledged, that the cruelties exercised in the Netherlands on this occasion, constitute the greatest blemish in the reign of Joseph II, although they were perhaps, chiefly owing to his ministers and military commanders, as affability and humanity are generally acknowledged to have been distinguishing traits of his character. The emperor, however, perceiving the bad effects of those sanguinary measures, issued proclamations of indemnity, but they were treated with the utmost contempt, and the patriots made so rapid a progress, that before the end of the year, they were in possession of every town in the Netherlands, except Antwerp and Luxembourg.

Belgium now appeared to be for ever separated from Austria, but the death of Joseph II, at this critical juncture, gave an unexpected turn to the state of affairs. The prudence and pacific disposition of Leopold his successor, and the conciliatory measures which he adopted, together with the mediation of Great Britain, Holland, and Prussia, effected a reconciliation with the Belgic provinces, and their re-union with the house of Austria.

By a treaty concluded at Reichenbach on the 27th of July, 1790, tranquillity was restored in the Belgic provinces, the sovereignty of which was guaranteed to the emperor by the three mediating powers. But the fatal revolution of France, immediately following, annihilated the treaty, and rendered the guarantee ineffectual. The conquest of these provinces by the French, and their final cession to the republic at the

the treaty of Campo Formio, have, for the sake of uniformity, been related in the history of France, to which these transactions properly belong, as their issue was the annexation of Belgium to the Gallic empire, and the identification of their future annals.

CHAP. IV.

Present State, political and moral—Arts and Sciences—Language—Literature—Education—Manners and Customs, &c.

THIS fertile and once famous country, now composing a part of France, its present political circumstances can no longer be considered as distinct from those of that overgrown empire. The religion is the Roman Catholic, to which the people appear zealously attached, and before the late revolution they were remarkably fond of religious pageantry. The revenues under the Austrian power, scarcely defrayed the expences of government; and the present order of things is too recent to afford us sufficient data for estimating on permanent principles their amount under the French system.

Of their commerce, little can be said at present; its revival, in some degree, may from the new state of things be expected; but the belligerent system adopted by France, has hitherto prevented any appearance of that kind.

The Belgic manufactures following the fate of their foreign trade, have, as already observed, undergone a total decline. A few fragments, however, remain. The principal are those of tapestry, fine linen and lace, carried on chiefly at Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Louvain, and Ghent, which encourage the cultivation of flax even on the poorest soils, and enrich all the

the country around.* Their agriculture, which formerly derived extraordinary vigour from their multifarious commerce, and has been celebrated during the space of five or six centuries, is but little, if any thing impaired, and is still equal, if not superior, to that of any country in Europe.†

Arts and Sciences.]—These provinces, besides their ingenious manufactures, were formerly famous for several of the liberal arts, especially painting, carving, &c. of which enough has already been said to render a further view of the subject unnecessary. But in these respects, their claims to celebrity rest rather on ancient than modern eminence.

Language.]—The language is a mixture of the high and low Dutch, but it remains uncultivated, and its use is in a great measure abandoned to the common people. Their principal authors have written in Latin or French, and the latter is the general language of people of fashion.

Literature.]—Belgium being converted to Christianity in the seventh century, has some pretensions to early literature in various chronicles and lives of saints; but in later times it has produced only few eminent writers. Froissart, a native of Valenciennes, and Philip de Comines, so named from the place of his birth, about eight miles north of Lisle, are excellent historians. Lipsius, a man of extensive erudition, was born in the neighbourhood of Brussels; but the Flemings have never acquired any celebrity in the belles lettres.

Education.]—The Belgic territory contained four universities, Tournay, Douay, St. Omer, and Louvain. The three last were noted for the education of

* Marshal, vol. 2, p. 63. † Ibid. p. 65.

English Catholics; that of Louvain, however, formerly possessed the greatest celebrity, and was once equally distinguished for its numerous students and illustrious professors. But since the recent revolutions, and the annexation of Belgium to France, we have little knowledge of these matters. The college at St. Omer no longer exists as a place of education, the building having been converted to other purposes.

Manners and Customs.]—The manners of the Belgians exhibit few striking features of distinction, being a mixture of those of Holland and France. Even before the new order of things took place, those of France prevailed among the politer sort, and are likely to predominate.

BATAVIA.

BATAVIA,

FORMERLY THE REPUBLIC OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Rivers—Canals—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Artificial Curiosities and Antiquities.

THIS country extends from the north of Groningen, to the borders of the department of Belgium, formerly the Austrian Netherlands, on the south about 150 miles, and from the German Ocean on the west, to the confines of Westphalia on the east, about 100 British miles. Its content in square miles is computed at about 10,000.

Face of the country.]—The face of the country presents scarcely any features of variety, except such as are formed by the hand of art, and the efforts of industry, such as the groves, gardens, and verdant meadows, which relieve the eye in wandering over a vast and uniform plain. The whole country is one continued marsh, except to the east of Utrecht, where it gradually rises towards Germany, and in some places swells into eminences ornamented with woods. The province of Over Yssel, so called from its western boundary the Yssel, which the canal of Drusus connected with the Rhine, presents scarcely any thing else

else than extensive swamps and heaths. Friesland and Groningen, parts of the ancient Frisia, present towards the south and south-east, extensive heaths, and nearer the sea a continued morass. Even the eastern part of Dutch Brabant is disfigured by the morass of Peal, extending about thirty miles in length. The whole province of Holland, is an uniform marsh; the coasts are every where nearly on a level with the sea; and strong dykes or mounds prevent the waters from overwhelming the land.

Rivers.]—The principal rivers are the Rhine and the Meuse, which completely traverse the country. The latter receives into its æstuary, that great branch of the Rhine called the Waal, besides other inferior streams, and proceeding about forty miles further in its course to the west, it is joined by the Lech, another great outlet of the same river. The principal river that falls into the Zuyder Zee is the Yssel, which rises near Munster, and after receiving the canal of Drusus, becomes a considerable stream. Many others of a more diminutive kind, are lost in the numerous canals with which the country is intersected.

Canals.]—To enumerate that infinity of canals, which in Batavia form a complete system of inland communication, would be tedious. They are almost as common as high roads in other parts of Europe, and serve for the same purposes. Running in every direction, they connect all the cities and towns, from which the trechtscuits set out as regularly as stage coaches in other countries. Most of these are extremely convenient, and completely fitted up for the accommodation of passengers. The general mode of travelling is by this kind of conveyance, and few journies are performed by land.

Lakes.

Lakes.]—The lakes form only an inconsiderable feature of Batavian geography. The principal are the sea of Haarlem and the Y, a broad piece of water passing by Amsterdam having the appearance of a creek of the sea, rather than that of either a lake or a river. The Meer of Haarlem can scarcely be considered as a lake of fresh water. There are a number of diminutive lakes in Friesland, Groningen, Over Yssel, and the northern part of Holland.

The geology of this country is as barren as its geography, the lands, being mostly alluvial, contain neither metals nor minerals. There are no mines of coal, and even quarries of stone are a rarity. But the inhabitants dig great quantities of peat from their morasses, in which trees are often found buried at a considerable depth, a circumstance not uncommon in the marshy grounds of other countries.* In digging a well at Amsterdam, sea sand was found at the depth of 100 feet, a proof that, at some remote period, nature has, in this country, undergone great revolutions.

Soil.]—The soil is more uniform, than in almost any other country, except those of the same marshy nature and alluvial origin. Here are neither mountainous, rocky, nor limestone districts. Even the few hills, which rise in the eastern parts, are only elevated tracts of sand: the rest is all a damp morass.

Climate.]—The climate of this country is one of its most disagreeable circumstances. Humidity and cold are its distinguishing characteristics. The air is foggy and unwholesome, except when it is purified by the frost, which, in winter, blocks up the harbours and canals, and, during the space of about four months, is generally accompanied with an easterly wind. The

* Vide remarks on this subject in speaking of the Bogs of Ireland.

moisture of the atmosphere causes metals to rust, and various other substances to mould, more than in any other country of Europe; but the remarkable cleanliness of the Dutch in their houses, which probably originates from that cause, obviates its effects; and strangers admire that brightness, which perpetual rubbing and scouring give to their furniture and utensils. Upon the whole, a short tour through the Batavian kingdom might not be uninteresting; but few foreigners would esteem it an eligible residence.* Here are none of the grand or beautiful features of nature, no towering mountains nor rushing cataracts, no winding vales nor purling streams, no variegated champaign nor romantic views: the face of the country every where presents an unpicturesque and uniform scene.

Vegetable productions.]—Neither the soil nor the climate are favourable to vegetation, being too cold and moist for the culture of grain and fruits. Most of the lands are, therefore, left under pasturage, except those that are set apart for the cultivation of madder and tobacco, which in some of the provinces is pursued with great assiduity. The pastures of Holland and Friesland supply great quantities of excellent butter, which constitutes a staple article of commerce. The cows appear to have been originally of the Holstein breed and are kept with great care. Even in summer, they are often seen in the meadows covered with cloths to guard them against the effects of cold and humidity.† In some of the provinces, the waste grounds are of considerable extent, and over-run with heath and broom. The Dutch are curious in their horticulture, and raise a number of exotic plants;

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3, p. 294. † Marshall, vol. 1, p. 37.

but the botany of their own country affords little variety, and their gardens are laid out in a style too stiff and uniform. The flatness of the landscape, indeed, is unfavourable to the disposition of pleasure grounds.

Zoology.]—The zoology of the Batavian kingdom presents nothing worthy of particular remark. Their horses are chiefly from England and Flanders, and their horned cattle from Holstein. The neighbouring seas abound with excellent fish, and the stork is a regular visitant.

Natural and artificial curiosities.]—This flat and uniform marsh presents no curious or uncommon appearances of nature, nor interesting remains of antiquity, except a ruined Roman tower, at the ancient mouth of the Rhine, ascribed to Caligula, but the different museums, particularly that of the university of Leyden, contain good collections of natural and artificial rarities; and the whole country intersected with innumerable canals, and guarded by stupendous dykes, against the assaults of the Ocean, may be considered as a curiosity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices—Islands.

AMSTERDAM, the capital of the Seven United Provinces, or the present Batavian kingdom, situated at the confluence of the Amstel and the Y, has, during the space of 200 years, been famous for its extensive and multifarious commerce, and about the middle of the seventeenth century was the chief mercantile city in Europe. It is, however, of recent origin; for in 1203, there was, on the place where it now stands, only a small castle, named Amstel, from the river on which it was situated. Gilbert, lord of the place, first brought a few cottagers to build a hamlet near the castle, where they carried on a small trade with their neighbours, by means of their fisheries. In 1482, it was first surrounded with walls, and in process of time it became a place of considerable trade. The decline of Bruges was favourable to its commerce, although Antwerp derived the greatest advantage from that circumstance. But the decay of the latter city gave rise to that great commercial importance which, in later times, has rendered Amsterdam so famous.* About A.D. 1609, its trade was so multifarious and extensive, and its wealth so great, that for the general security of the citizens, in regard

* See hist. ch. on Belgium.

Plate XII

The SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES from the best AUTHORITIES
British Statute Miles
Dutch Miles
GERMAN OCEAN
THE BROAD FOURTEENS
GERMANY
EAST FRIESLAND
GRONINGEN
FRIESLAND
OVERYSSEL
HOLLAND
UTRECHT
GELDERS
ZEALAND
DUTCH BRABANT
DUTCH FLANDERS
DUTCH LIMBURG
ZUYDER ZEE
WEST FRIESLAND
TEXEL I.
Vlieland
Schelling
Ameland
Borkum
Embden
Groningen
Leewarden
Harlingen
AMSTERDAM
Haerlem
Leyden
the Hague
Delft
Rotterdam
Dordrecht
Utrecht
Amersfort
Deventer
Zutphen
Arnhem
Nimeguen
Breda
Bois le duc
Middelburg
Flushing
Ostend
Bruges
ANTWERP
Venloo
Gelders
Maestricht
LIEGE
Munster
Dusseldorf
Mouth of the Maes

to keeping their cash, as well as to obviate the inconvenience of making all their payments in money, the famous bank was established, which has been found both in a political and commercial point of view so eminent a national advantage.* In 1648, the epoch of the treaty of Westphalia, the foundation of the famous Stadthouse was laid, on more than 13,000 huge piles of timber, driven by the force of engines into the ground. This superb edifice, with the exchange and the post-house, may be reckoned among the principal ornaments of the city. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam was by some, although in all probability erroneously, supposed to contain 300,000 inhabitants; and in the space of seventy-nine years, from 1571 to 1650, its magnitude had been trebled.† It received its last enlargement in 1656; and a few years afterwards it was considered as the greatest commercial city in the world.‡ Since the latter part of the seventeenth century, the trade of Amsterdam has been somewhat on the decline. In the year 1734, the arrivals of shipping in that port amounted to not less than 1721, but in the year 1740 no more than 1645 vessels were found to have arrived. The next year, 1741, the arrivals increased to 1813. In the former of those years, the bills of mortality smounted to 10,056, in the latter to 9864. In 1742, the number of vessels entering inwards was 1591. In 1760, the burials were 7700, and the arrivals of shipping 1412. From these statements it appears that Amsterdam has been in general on the decline during

* Ricard. Traité gen. du Com. p. 170 and 171. Sir W. Temple's observations, ch. 2.

† De Witt. Interest of Holland, par. 3, ch. 2.

‡ Ibid, par. 1, ch. 14.

the

the greatest part of the last century.* Since the late conquest of Holland by the French, that decline has been more visible and rapid. From the bills of mortality it also appears, that its population, when in its meridian, was equal to about half of that of Paris, and one third of that of London. These two cities, however, have considerably increased, while Amsterdam has remained stationary, or rather declined. At present the number of its inhabitants is computed at 212,000, about equal to one third of the population of Paris, and to one fourth of that of London.

Amsterdam, however, is a stupendous monument of human industry, which has caused a vast and magnificent city to rise out of miry swamps enveloped in almost perpetual fogs, and created an emporium of commerce and a magazine of wealth, in a situation destitute of almost every natural advantage, the air and the water being equally bad. Even its harbour, so long the receptacle of riches, flowing in from every part of the globe, is incommodious and of difficult access, the water being so shallow that large vessels cannot come up without unlading, the whole navigation of the Zuyder Zee lying in narrow and dangerous channels.† Under all these disadvantages, the persevering diligence of the inhabitants, with the judicious conduct of the government, in granting an universal toleration to persons of all religions, have raised Amsterdam to a pitch of opulence and grandeur that has long astonished the world. The ground on which it stands being entirely a morass, rendered it necessary to build the whole city upon piles of wood, consisting of the trunks of huge trees, forced down

* And Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 232, 235, 320, 327.

† Sir W. Temple's Observations on the United Provinces, ch. 6.

endways

endways into the boggy soil. The city is well built; the houses have that general air of cleanliness, for which all those of the Dutch are remarkable; and in some of the streets, extending along the principal canals, they display an uniform grandeur. Many of the streets, however, are narrow, and the numerous canals emit a feculent smell, which assails the nose of a stranger as soon as he enters the Batavian capital, and never leaves him till his olfactory nerves have acquired their seasoning.

Amsterdam is not less distinguished as the theatre of plodding industry, than Paris as the grand scene of dissipation. It is a hive filled with industrious bees, in which a drone can scarcely be found. By persevering diligence, a spot where nothing could be produced has been converted into an immense storehouse of all the various productions of the earth; and a situation fit only for frogs has become the splendid abode of opulence. This general spirit of industry, however, does not wholly exclude amusement. The theatres are elegant and well attended; and the licensed brothels, known by the name of music-houses, are between twenty and thirty in number.

These music-houses are not less the resorts of curiosity than the rendezvous of guilt. They are public places, which are visited by every stranger; and persons of both sexes, and the best characters, are seen in them every evening. But the scenes exhibited in public do not violate the rules of decency.

One of the distinguishing and most pleasing features of the Batavian capital, is that spirit of religious peace which has ever accompanied its universal toleration. There are more than twenty churches where the Roman Catholic worship is publicly performed.

One

One of these is a beautiful edifice, and superbly decorated. There are also numbers of churches and chapels for almost all the various denominations of Christians, and several synagogues for the Jews. All this diversity of opinion, founded on the basis of universal liberty of conscience, has scarcely ever disturbed the public tranquillity of Amsterdam.

Rotterdam.]—Rotterdam, as a commercial city, is the second in the Batavian kingdom, and ranks next to Amsterdam in trade and opulence, though not in extent and population. It is situated on the Macs; and its harbour is one of the finest in the Netherlands. The quay is adorned with houses not inferior to any in the squares of London, and with a handsome Jewish synagogue. A number of fine canals extend along the streets, by means of which vessels may unload at the very doors of the warehouses. This place has one great commercial advantage over Amsterdam: the ice goes away at an earlier period in the spring, and the passage from the harbour to the open sea is much sooner effected, and with less difficulty. For these reasons it is more frequented by British ships. The buildings are in general elegant, although there are some houses yet to be seen in the old Spanish style, with the gables embattled in front. The bank and the town house are magnificent structures. The learned Erasmus was a native of Rotterdam, and the inhabitants still venerate his memory. They shew the house in which he was born, with a commemorative inscription in the front; and his statue in bronze stands conspicuous, in an open place at the head of one of the canals. Such are the deserved honours paid by the people of Rotterdam to the memory of a man, whose literary eminence constitutes the glory of

of their city. In the year 1739, 500 ships entered inwards at this port.* Its trade, however, as well as that of the other Batavian cities, has of late considerably declined. The population of Rotterdam is now computed at about 48,000.†

Middleburgh.]—Middleburgh may be considered as the third commercial town of the Batavian territory. A canal, navigable by the largest vessels, gives it a communication with the sea. The town is exceedingly well built, and exhibits the aspect of opulence. The Stadthouse is large, and decorated with the statues of the ancient earls and countesses of Holland. Middleburg was first walled in A.D. 1121, being before that time an inconsiderable village.‡ In 1247 it was improved and fortified by William Earl of Holland, Zealand, &c. since which time it has gradually risen to a considerable degree of opulence, and to a population of about 30,000 inhabitants.

Leyden.]—These are the principal ports; but the inland towns are numerous for a country of so narrow extent. Of these, Leyden is the chief, being next to Amsterdam in respect of its population, which is computed at about 50,000. It is situated in a country full of gardens and meadows, near the ancient bed of the Rhine, which seems here to lose itself in numberless canals. The city is about a league and a half in circuit, and comprises a great number of islands formed by the various canals, and connected by bridges, of which the greatest part are built of freestone. By some the islands are said to be 50, and the bridges 145 in number. It is one of the finest towns in Holland. Its chief manufactures are those of cloths

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 224. † Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1, p. 484.
‡ And. Hist. Com. vol. 2, p. 145.

 and

and stuff; and its fair is much frequented. The university, although of modern date, being founded by William Prince of Orange soon after its memorable siege, A.D. 1574, has been famed for the study of medicine, and rendered illustrious by the talents of some of its pupils, particularly the celebrated Herman Boerhaave, for his abilities and virtues, the glory of the medical profession, and of human nature. This university, however, has of late been on the decline, by reason of some pecuniary regulations of that narrow and avaricious policy, for which the Dutch are remarkable.*

Leyden has some claims to antiquity, being the Lugdunum Batavorum of the Romans; but it is principally celebrated for the events of its modern history. The memorable siege, which it sustained in 1574 against the Spaniards, exhibited one of the most signal examples of heroic patriotism and desperate resolution to be found in the annals of war. The citizens were reduced by famine to the horrible necessity of feeding on the dead carcasses of one another; and when the Spanish general, who knew their distress, summoned them to surrender, the answer returned by unanimous consent of the soldiers and the inhabitants was, that they would eat the flesh of their left arms, and with the right defend themselves and their city. They had already opened their sluices, and deluged the surrounding country, in order to drive the Spaniards from their works, who obstinately continued the siege, and attempted to drain off the inundation. But a violent south-west wind, driving the waters furiously against the works of the besiegers, obliged them to retire; while Brissot, admiral of Zealand, with a fleet

* Radcliffe, vol. 1, p. 89.

of

of well armed flat-bottomed boats sailed over the deluged country to the relief of the place, and the Spanish general, Valdes, found himself constrained to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army. During the whole time of this terrible blockade, the inhabitants carried on a correspondence with the other cities by the means of carrier-pigeons.* Several of these pigeons being embalmed, are, or at least lately were preserved in the town-house in memory of this transaction. Leyden was the birth-place of the celebrated painter, Rembrandt, and of the famous Buccold the taylor, King of Munster, commonly called John of Leyden. Among the curiosities of this town, is shewn the shop-board where he used to work at his trade.†

Haarlem.]—Next to Leyden, in magnitude, is Haarlem, seated on the meer or lake of the same name, a dreary piece of water about fourteen miles in length, and as many in breadth. Here are some manufactures of silk and velvet; and those of thread, lace, and tape, are very considerable. But Haarlem is particularly remarkable for the attachment of its citizens to the cultivation and improvement of flowers. Such is the enthusiasm of those amateurs, that a single tulip root is sold for fifty guineas.‡ The linen bleacheries are also an object of curiosity. The superior whiteness of their linens, lace, &c. is attributed to the slimy waters of the meer; and a late traveller confirms the remark which several others have made, that the fairest lily in their gardens does not equal the whiteness of

* Francianus Strada de Bello Belg. tom. 1.

† Pratt's Gleanings in Holland, vol. 2.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 478. Instances have occurred of much greater sums being given for a tulip by the florists of Haarlem, where this passion for flowers prevails more than in any place in the world.

their linen.* The three rarities of Haarlem are the beauty of its flowers, the whiteness of its linen, and the stupendous sounds of the great organ, which, however, according to some, is more remarkable for power than sweetness. This city also claims the invention of the art of printing, by Laurence Coster, one of its citizens. But Strasburg and Mentz exhibit similar pretensions. Impartial enquirers, however, have decided the claim in favour of Mentz, where, according to the prevailing opinion, it was first invented by William Gurtemburg, and afterwards improved by John Faust and Peter Schoeffer. Which of those three places was the cradle of that art, is only a question of curiosity; but from the invention, the world has derived benefits which surpass all calculation, and will be continued to the latest posterity. The house which Coster inhabited is shewn with the following inscription in the front:—

"Memoriæ sacrum.
Typographia ars artium conservatrix,
Nunc primum inventum circa annum 1440."

His statue is also placed in the botanic garden.† If Coster was not the original inventor, he was undoubtedly one of the first improvers and propagators of this noble art; and public gratitude has erected memorials to his honour, which none but the benefactors of mankind can justly claim.

Utrecht.]—Utrecht, the capital of the province of that name, enjoys the most salubrious air, and is the most agreeable residence in these parts. The environs are pleasant, consisting of gardens, walks, and groves; and the general amenity of the situation ren-

§ Pratt's Gleanings, vol. 2, p. 348. † Ibid. p. 350.

ders

ders it an agreeable retreat to persons out of business. This city, although not distinguished by any remarkable edifices, except the cathedral, is one of the handsomest and the most elegant in the whole country. The high steeple of the cathedral commands an extensive prospect over the circumjacent country, comprising, as some say, upwards of fifty walled towns, besides numerous villages. The population of Utrecht is computed at above 20,000. Its university has given to the world some of its most worthy characters. Grævius taught politics and history here upwards of forty years; and, in conjunction with Gronovius, Professor of Belles Lettres and Geography, composed that valuable work, "The Treasures of Ancient Rome," in thirteen folio volumes. This seminary of learning was also the residence of the pious Adrian VI, once the preceptor of Charles V.*

The Hague.]—The Hague is considered only as a village, although it is supposed to contain 36,000 inhabitants, and a greater number of magnificent houses than are met with in the same space in any other city of northern Europe. The palace, which was formerly the residence of the Stadtholder, contained the chambers appropriated to the different departments of government, and the room where the states-general usually assembled.† It is situated at the distance of two miles from the sea, to which a paved walk, bordered with two rows of lofty trees on each side, leads from the town, and terminates at the village of Scheveling, seated on the shore. On the north side is a beautiful grove of stately oaks, elms, and beech, about a mile and a half in length, and half a mile in breadth,

* For the character of this pope, vide Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 1.

† Radcliffe, vol. 1, p. 49.

intersected with pleasant walks, and constituting the St. James's Park and the Thuilleries of the Hague, but much less frequented, as the Dutch gentry are not fond of walking, and generally prefer staying at home, or being carried by any other kind of conveyance than that of their own legs, when a removal is necessary. In regard to elegance and fashion, the Hague is the London and Paris of Holland; and its pleasant situation and tranquil grandeur render it, in many respects, an agreeable residence.

Broek.]—One of the places in this country most deserving of the stranger's attention, is the little village of Broek, in North Holland, which, for beauty and singularity, has not, perhaps, a parallel in any quarter of the globe. One traveller says, that a journey of 1,000 miles would be repaid by the pleasure which the view of it affords; and another, that it is impossible to describe it without being suspected of exaggeration.* There is only one street through which carriages are allowed to pass, and this is but thinly inhabited: the state of cleanliness in which the others are kept, is beyond all description. The pavement is a sort of mosaic of stones and bricks of various colours. In the front of the houses a range of terraces and small gardens extends from one end of the street to the other, separated by fences of different kinds, but of the most finished neatness and elegance. Behind the houses are gardens of larger dimensions, arranged in the same order, and ornamented in all the modes that fancy can devise. The beauty of the houses corresponds with that of the gardens; and their interior decorations with their exterior elegance. The roofs are covered with shining tiles, which, in the

* Mr. Pratt and Madame de Genlis.

sun-shine,

sun-shine, glitter like spar; and every part of the outside and inside of every house is painted with the most costly colours, which, by being often re-touched, are kept so vivid, as always to seem newly finished. It is a singular circumstance in their houses, that the principal door, which is placed in the centre of the front, is never opened but on the nuptials, or the funeral of one of the family. The whole village is every where intersected and watered by numberless rivulets, winding by the sides of the houses, and surrounded by spacious meadows and pastures. In speaking of this celebrated and singular village, it is requisite to observe, that its characteristic is a pretty sort of fanciful beauty; nothing is seen that partakes of magnificence; and although the general effect is charming, and exhibits an appearance of extreme regularity, an architect or an artist would, on a close examination of the houses and their embellishments, find it difficult to discover the just laws of proportion. Strangers, however, find it not very easy to penetrate into these paradisaical recesses; for the inhabitants are extremely shy and reserved: to endeavour to enter into their houses would, to a person of an impudent and intruding air, be as vain an attempt as that of entering the Grand Seignor's seraglio. The master of the house, on such an occasion, instantly bolts the door, and orders the ladies to withdraw to the most retired apartments. Strangers, however, of a decent deportment have, after surmounting the first difficulties, been politely entertained at this place. The inhabitants of Broek are extremely rich, being almost all of them persons who have retired from business, or who are connected with some of the mercantile houses of Amsterdam. The ladies scarcely ever stir abroad; and Amsterdam,

 which

which is only six miles distant, is almost as little known to them as Rome or Constantinople. The manners of the people, and the fantastic beauty of the place, taken altogether, form a singular object of curiosity.

Saaerdam.]—Saaerdam bears a striking resemblance to Broek, but is less singular, both in its appearance and in the manners of its inhabitants, as it is very populous and commercial. Like the other towns of North Holland it is almost entirely built of wood, and the houses are painted on the outside with the greatest care, and with the most fanciful variety of colours and figures. Before and behind the houses are gardens laid out with the nicest exactness, resembling those of Broek, and scarcely a tree is to be seen, which is not painted with all the colours and figures that fancy can invent. North Holland may, with propriety, be called the land of whim, from which taste is entirely excluded.* Saaerdam is famous for its paper manufacture and its saw-mills, the latter of which, it is said, amount to about 250, and still more for its dock-yards, where the Czar Peter the Great handled the axe, and learned the elements of ship-building.

* Pratt's Gleanings, vol. 2, p. 401.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—General Progress of Society, &c.

FOR the most early information relative to this country, we are indebted to the Romans, whose ambition prompted them to extend their conquests into those remote, and, at that time, worthless marshes. The origin of its first population is unknown; but when the Romans conquered the country, it was possessed by the Batavi, a German or Gothic tribe, celebrated by Tacitus. On the decline of the western empire, the Franks passing the Rhine, seem to have left the Batavi at peace in their morasses. The Frisians, in the seventh century, extended their dominion over the whole country, as far as the Scheld, but were subdued by the Franks under Charles Martel. An eminent modern historian and geographer thinks, that the Franks and the Frisians were mingled in the population with the ancient Batavians.* In regard to the Frisians, this mixture is extremely probable. After the conquest of Batavia and Frisia by the Franks, these countries were, during some time, divided into a number of petty seigneuries. Under Charles the Simple, when the benefices were rendered hereditary, these vassals, like those of France possessing a nominal allegiance, became in reality independent.† The principal of these were the earls of Holland and the bishops

* D'Anville Etats formés en Europe, p. 26.

† Vide Historical View of France in this work.

 of

of Utrecht, who were often engaged in sanguinary contests with each other, as well as with the earls of Flanders and the dukes of Brabant.

From Theodoric, brother of Herman, Duke of Saxony, and of Wickman, Earl of Ghent, the line of the earls of Holland may be traced to Jaquelina, heiress of that earldom, married to John, Duke of Brabant, including a period of 494 years, from A.D. 923 to 1417.* A contest for the succession ensued; and, in 1433, she was compelled to resign her dominions to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Holland, Friesland, and Zealand, thus became an appendage to the powerful house of Burgundy, and were, by the marriage of Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, with the Archduke Maximilian, transferred to that of Austria.†

The history of those obscure times, and the wars which were carried on among these petty sovereigns, are uninteresting to a modern reader. But certain revolutions of nature, proceeding from the peculiar situation of these countries, merit some degree of attention. Various and astonishing changes have, at different periods, sometimes suddenly, and sometimes gradually, taken place in the local circumstances of the Batavian territory. The great rivers, Rhine and Maes have entirely altered their course. The former divided itself into two grand branches not far from Cleves, of which the northernmost, passing by Utrecht and Leyden, was the principal, but is now only a small stream.‡ The ancient isle of the Batavi was included between the two branches of the Rhine: all to the

* Henault, Ab. Chron. tom. 1.

† Vide Hist. Views of France and Belgium.

‡ D'Anville's Maps of Gaul.

north

north was the country of the Frisians. The æstuaries of the Maes and the Scheld were formed by inroads from the ocean.* The latter, in particular, was formerly a delta, intersected with the various branches of the river, but is now converted into large creeks, which separate the isles of Zealand from the continent. The vast lake or æstuary of the Maes to the south-east of Dort, is said to have been formed so late as the year 1421, when, according to an eminent historian, "The famous city of Dort was, by an inundation of the sea with the rivers, Waal and Meuse, formed into a sort of island, which inundation overspread like a sea all the present gulph, which, till then, was firm land, joined to the province of Brabant; by which accident seventy-two good villages were swallowed up, and 100,000 persons were drowned."* But the most remarkable, as well as the most important change, that has taken place in the geography of these countries, is the formation of the Zuyder Zee between the provinces of East and West Friesland,† to which the city of Amsterdam owes its extensive commerce. The historians of the Netherlands seem all to agree, that the gulph called the Zuyder Zee was formerly, for the most part, dry land, and well replenished with towns and villages Both the æra and the causes of this geographical revolution, however, are subjects of uncertain conjecture. An eminent modern geographer, supposes the Zuyder Zee to have been formed by the northern branch of the Rhine, forcing a passage into the Yssel, which ran into the inland lake of Flevo, discharging its waters into the sea by a river of that name, extending about fifty Roman miles in length; and that

* Guicciard's Hist. Netherlands, p. 271.

† West Friesland is also called North Holland.

the extension of the lake and the river, increased by such an accession of waters, formed the Zuyder Zee.* This theory, indeed, is the most conformable to D'Anville's maps. But Sir William Temple thinks, that in the days of Tacitus, the southern part of the Zuyder Zee was a fresh water lake in the country of the Frisons, between which and the Texel, lay an extensive tract of land, since covered by some great eruption of waters. This he attributes not to the irruption of the Rhine, but to that of the sea breaking through between the Texel and other islands which lie in a line, and almost contiguous, like the broken remains of a continued coast.† Morisotus is of the same opinion, and thinks that this event happened in the year 1421; but he seems to fix too late an æra, and, as this is the year which Guicciardini assigns to the great inundation of the Meuse, it is not improbable that one has been confounded with the other.‡ The last mentioned author says, that in his time, about A.D. 1643, "the tops of churches and houses were still discoverable in sailing over the overflowed country." But the truth of this fact seems somewhat questionable. From all the evidences, however, of history and tradition, it appears, that East and West Friesland were one continued tract, and that the Zuyder Zee was formed by an irruption of waters, either from the Rhine or the Ocean. The ancient geography of the Batavian and Frisian territories is very imperfectly known; but it is extremely probable, that before the completion of those prodigious dykes or mounds which now afford security against the irruption of the sea and the great

* Pinkerton's Geography, vol. 1, p. 468.

† Observations on the United Provinces, chap. 3.

‡ Orbis maritimus, lib. 2, cap. 45.

rivers,

rivers, this country has frequently undergone considerable changes, from the ravages of that tremendous element by which it is constantly threatened.

The revolt of the Netherlands fixes the æra from which the political and commercial importance of Holland dates its commencement.* Before that period her trade had been almost confined to her fisheries, and these, considered as the basis of a foreign commerce, had not existed longer than about a century and a half, from their first establishment.† But that important revolution gave her a place in the scale of nations; and from that memorable epoch, her rapid progress to opulence and power, as well as her recent downfall are interesting subjects of attention The history of the Belgic revolt, given in a preceding part of this work, involves that of the United States, during the period which elapsed from its commencement to the capture of Antwerp and the reduction of the Walloon provinces. The memorable siege of Leyden has already been mentioned, and the Spaniards met with nearly the same vigorous resistance in other parts. So early as the year 1579, the dissentions which prevailed among the revolted Netherlanders, induced William Prince of Orange to project a closer union between the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel and Guelderland. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and signed that famous federation, in appearance so slender, but in reality so solid, of seven provinces independent in civil affairs and particular interests, but closely con-

* When the name Holland is used without any express limitation, it is to be understood in the common acceptation of the term, denoting the whole Batavian federacy.

† Malynes Lex Mercatoria, 189.

nected

nected in political union, and in the support of the common cause. The Prince of Orange, the celebrated projector of this union and founder of the Dutch republic, was in 1584 assassinated at Delft, by Battazar Gerard a desperate enthusiast, impelled by a mistaken zeal for religion, and still more by the reward offered in the king of Spain's proclamation. This desperado, as it is often the case, being urged by motives of temporal interests, to the commission of so enormous a crime, had sought a religious pretext in order to gain the sanction of a party, and to silence his own conscience.

The death of the Prince of Orange, the head of their confederacy, one of the most eminent patriots, and most profound politicians that ever existed, threw the States into the utmost consternation. But after the first moments of dismay, it produced effects very different from those which the court of Spain had expected. Rage took place of despair, and the people unanimously resolved to revenge his death by prosecuting the war with unremitted vigour.* His son Maurice was only eighteen years old, but such marks of political and military genius distinguished his character, as, together with the respect in which his father's memory was held, induced the provinces of Holland and Zealand, to confer on him the office of Stadtholder and captain-general of all their forces by sea and land. It was not possible, however, that the States should, without foreign aid, resist so powerful an enemy as they had to encounter. The loss of Antwerp was a dangerous blow to their declining cause, and the unaccountable and interested policy of the rival city of Amsterdam, in seeking a problematical private advantage at the expense of public safety, had nearly

* Grotius lib. 4.

caused

caused the subjection of all the revolted provinces. They had now no aid to expect from the Walloons, and saw the Spanish armies and garrisons extending along their frontier. In this extremity they tendered the sovereignty of their country to Henry III, king of France; but the distracted state of his affairs, prevented him from accepting so advantageous an offer. His authority being too feeble to suppress the league formed by the Duke of Guise, he found it necessary to comply with its demands, and to enter into a war with the Hugonots.* He was therefore obliged to refuse the proffered sovereignty, which, however flattering to his ambition, must have embroiled him with the league, and drawn upon him the whole power of Spain. The States now turned their eyes towards England, and prevailed on Queen Elizabeth, to espouse their quarrel. The Earl of Leicester was sent to their assistance, with a body of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse. The States received him with extraordinary honours, conferred on him the office of governor and captain-general, appointed him a guard, and vested him with powers almost dictatorial. But he soon discovered his inability to act against the Duke of Parma, and abused his authority by an administration equally weak and oppressive. He became at last so obnoxious to the States, that Elizabeth found it requisite to command him to resign his government, and return to England.† Prince Maurice was elected governor, and Lord Willoughby was, by the queen, appointed commander of the English auxiliaries. So long as the confederates had to cope with the Duke of Parma, it was enough to stand on the defensive;

* Mezerai, tom. 5. † Grotius lib. 5.—Bentivoglio 2 lib. 4.

but

but after the death of that great general, they soon began to make a rapid progress. Prince Maurice surprised Breda, and by the assistance of the English, who were now commanded by Sir Francis Vere, he also took Gertrudenberg and Groningen, each of which places made an obstinate defence. Various other successes were obtained by the confederates, and the events of the war were in general to their advantage.

In the midst of hostilities the new republic became powerful, its people grew rich, and its commerce began to extend itself to every quarter of the globe. Philip II, now began to despair of reducing the revolted provinces, and being desirous of an accommodation, but unwilling to make, in his own name, the concessions necessary to induce them to return to obedience, he transferred to his daughter Isabella, contracted to the Archduke Albert of Austria, the sovereignty of the Netherlands, with a provision that in case the Infanta should leave no issue, they should revert to the crown of Spain.

Such was the state of affairs at the death of Philip II. The marriage was not yet celebrated, but the contract was punctually executed. Albert and Isabella, immediately informed the States of the transaction, invited them to return to the obedience of their natural princes, and promised to govern them with lenity and affection. The provinces, however, were determined to complete the work in which they had hitherto so successfully proceeded: the clause, which stipulated their reversion to Spain in default of issue, was sufficient to induce them to reject all terms of submission. Both sides, therefore, prepared to prosecute the war with increased vigour. The States carried

ried on their levies with diligence, and took into their pay several bodies of Germans and Swiss, besides 2,000 French veterans, disbanded at the conclusion of the peace of Vervius, while the forces of the Archduke were recruited from Germany, Spain and Italy. In 1600, a general engagement took place at Nieuport, near Ostend, in which, after a terrible conflict, the army of the States was victorious.* Prince Maurice had been accused of neglecting the advantages which he might have derived from this victory; but according to his own account, his troops were so exhausted with fatigue, as to be unfit for any new expedition. This inactivity of the confederates, however, afforded to the Archduke an opportunity of recruiting his army and forming the siege of Ostend. This siege, one of the most famous of modern history, lasted upwards of three years, under three successive generals, the Archduke Albert in person, the Count de Rivas, and the Marquis of Spinola, who brought a formidable body of 8,000 Italians, to reinforce the army. All the resources of tactics were employed: new works were daily erected, and innumerable assaults were made without effect. Both the besiegers and the besieged received constant supplies, the former by land and the latter by sea, as the Dutch were masters on that element, and the naval power of Spain was in a state of total decline. Spinola, however, pushed the siege with extraordinary vigour and consummate military skill. Ostend was reduced to a heap of ruins, and the garrison at last surrendered on honourable terms, when the besiegers were making preparations for the grand assault.†

The Marquis de Spinola, acquired an immortal re-

* Grotius lib. 9. † Grotius lib. 13.

putation

putation from this memorable siege, which cost the king of Spain and the Archduke, the lives of 80,000 brave soldiers, and put them in possession of a ruined town. But its obstinate defence contributed in no small degree to the establishment of the Dutch republic. The principal force of the Spaniards being employed against that place, the Archduke was, during the space of three campaigns, prevented from entering the United Provinces, while Prince Maurice made himself master of Rimbach, Sluys and Grave, acquisitions which more than balanced the loss of Ostend. This interval of tranquillity, which the absence of the Spanish armies afforded, had been extremely favorable to the Dutch manufactures and trade. The East India Company, which has been the glory and boast of the republic, was established, and commerce both foreign and domestic flourished.* But as a counterpoise to these advantages, the death of Queen Elizabeth, and the different system of politics adopted by James I, her successor, deprived the States of the alliance of England.

Philip III. being now sensible that the Archduchess would have no issue, and that the Netherlands must consequently revert to Spain, resolved to make the most vigorous efforts for the reduction of the revolted provinces. Numerous levies were made for that purpose, and Spinola was appointed generalissimo of the Spanish and Italian forces. The States on the other hand repaired their fortifications, reinforced their garrisons, augmented their army, and made every preparation for a vigorous resistance. In spite, however, of their efforts, and of those of Prince Maurice, their

* Le Clerc, lib. 7.

general,

general, Spinola, in two campaigns, made a considerable progress. But although he had reduced several places of importance, he made no impression on the body of the republic. The expences of the army were greater than the Spanish treasury was able to support, and his troops mutinied for want of pay. All these circumstances convinced him of the impracticability of conquering the federated provinces.

Abroad the Dutch were still more successful, and made a greater figure than at home. Their fleets rode triumphant on the Ocean, and every where captured the Spanish trading vessels. They were now become the carriers of all Europe, and Amsterdam was already an emporium of trade, and a storehouse of merchandize. An eminent political writer of that time, in pointing out the various causes of the mercantile prosperity of the Dutch, adverts to the construction and management of their vessels, which, says he, being capable of containing a great quantity of merchandize, although navigated with fewer hands than those of the English, could carry goods at a much cheaper rate. He also notices their immense magazines of all sorts of foreign commodities, from which, in times of scarcity, they could supply other countries, even those from which the commodities were bought. Amsterdam, says he, is never without 700,000 quarters of corn, although none of it be of the growth of the country; and a dearth of only one year in England, France, Spain, Portugal, &c. enriches Holland for seven years after. He then proceeds to a statement of the herring fishery, which, he says, produced to Holland an annual profit of 1,759,000*l.* sterling, and employed 50,000 fishermen, besides the immense number of ships and sailors, and the various trades connected

connected with that concern; adding, that the Dutch had as much shipping as all Europe besides, and that they then built every year near 1000 vessels, although "all their native commodities did not require 100 to carry them all away at once." So striking a picture, drawn by so able a hand, merits a place in commercial history.*

The war had now continued about thirty-seven years, during which time the Netherlands had been considered as the great military school of Europe; but never had so long a succession of campaigns been distinguished by so few general engagements. An inactive scene of long encampments and obstinate sieges were the characteristics of this war; which, without risking the fate of the republic, on the uncertain event of a battle, exhausted the treasury of Spain, and caused her armies to moulder away in unwholesome situations.† The increasing strength of the federated states, during this long continuance of hostilities, extinguished the hopes which their enemies had formed of reducing them to subjection. The Duke of Parma had failed in the attempt, and Spinola declared it impracticable. After the failure of the most skilful generals, with the best veteran armies in Europe, any further expectation of success would have been folly and presumption. Both the Archduke and the court of Madrid were, at last convinced of the necessity of an accommodation. A suspension of arms was, therefore, agreed on; and a truce of twelve years was concluded, A.D. 1609. This treaty

* Observations concerning the trade of England with the Dutch and other foreign nations, laid before James I. by Sir Walter Raleigh, apud. And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 216, &c.

† For a particular account of this war. Vide Famian. Strada, Grotius Bentivoglio, &c.

was

was extremely advantageous to the Dutch: it secured to them all their acquisitions, as well as freedom of trade with Spain and the Walloon provinces.

During this interval of profound tranquillity, the first which the new republic had experienced, the Dutch extended their commerce and increased their wealth in a manner that astonished all Europe. In the year 1618, the city of Batavia was founded; and the plan of an Empire laid in the East, superior in wealth and grandeur to the United Provinces, and infinitely surpassing them in extent.* In this or the following year, they had also obtained possession of the principal ports, and engrossed all the trade of the great island of Borneo.†

But while the Dutch were extending their commerce and their conquests abroad, the demon of discord insinuated himself among them at home. Forgetful of the limited powers of the human intellect, mankind are ever desirous of exploring the mysterious abyss of metaphysical science; and, proud of their ideal discoveries, acrimoniously condemn all opinions that differ from their own. All the countries of Christendom have, in their turn, exhibited instances of Catholic or Protestant bigotry; and, in the midst of political tranquillity, the United Provinces became a prey to religious dissentions. Gomar and Arminius, two professors of Leyden, disagreed on certain abstruse points of theology, and their different opinions divided the republic. Gomar maintained, in all their austerity, the doctrines of Calvin relative to grace and predestination: Arminius mixed them with softening qualifications. The former was followed by the great body of the people, that many-headed mon-

* And Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 275. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 281.

ster, ever prone to enthusiasm. The latter was supported by Grotius, Vossius, and most of the learned. Both parties supposed themselves initiated in the counsels of the Most High, and acquainted with the laws by which his providence governs the moral world; and both had an equal right to the peaceable possession of their reveries. Religious opinions, however, were made the basis of political factions. Prince Maurice headed the Gomarists, and was suspected of an intention of making use of his popularity among them, to enable him to usurp the sovereignty of the republic. The Arminian cause was espoused by the grand pensionary Barneveld, a man of eminent abilities and incorruptible integrity. But Maurice and the Gomarists at last prevailed. A synod was convened at Dort: the doctrines of Arminius was condemned, its preachers were banished, and Barneveld, who had, during the space of forty years, directed the counsels of the republic with singular prudence and success, was condemned to death for the crime of "vexing the church of God;" a name which the Gomarists appropriated exclusively to their own sect. At the age of seventy, this venerable patriot suffered on the scaffold, in pursuance to that extraordinary sentence. Such were the effects of intolerance among a people that, under every disadvantage, had maintained a war of thirty-seven years for the preservation of their religious as well as their civil liberties, and now established a Protestant inquisition after having so successfully avoided that of St. Dominic. However, it is no more than justice to observe, that this is the only scene of religious persecution ever displayed in the Dutch republic.

The truce with Spain being about to expire, the prospect

prospect of a renewal of hostilities composed their domestic animosities. It seems indeed that, as the period of its expiration approached, it was less scrupulously kept, and sometimes flagrantly violated; since, according to Voltaire, Peter Hen, the Dutch admiral, captured, in 1618, the whole fleet of galleons from America, the cargoes of which were worth near 1,000,000*l.* sterling.* The truce, however, being expired, both sides seemed eager to commence hostilities. The Duc d'Olivarez, minister of Philip IV. among his bold plans for restoring the greatness of the Spanish monarchy, had resolved on renewing the attempt to subjugate the United Provinces; and the Dutch had already cast their eyes on Brazil, which, together with Portugal, was at that time under the dominion of Spain. They commenced their transatlantic hostilities by an attack on this colony. The city of St. Salvador was captured A.D. 1624. Six years afterwards, the whole province of Fernambuque was reduced; and, before the year 1636, the Dutch West India Company had obtained possession of almost the whole sea coast of Brazil. In Europe, the arms of the republic were likewise crowned with success. Spinola had again been appointed commander in chief of the Spanish forces, and was again opposed by Prince Maurice; who, in 1722, obliged him to raise the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, after having lost 10,000 of his best troops in that enterprize. But four years after that event, the States experienced a reverse of fortune in the loss of Breda, one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands; which was reduced by Spinola in spite of the efforts of Prince Maurice, who died a little before it surrendered. This campaign was con-

* Voltaire Hist. Universelle, tom. 6, ch. 11,

ducted on the same plan as the former, by tedious encampments and difficult sieges, and seldom displayed any important contests in the field. In this manner it was protracted for the space of twenty-six years, from A.D. 1621 to 1647, when the United Provinces growing jealous of the power of France, concluded a peace with Spain. In this treaty, the latter acknowledged the independent sovereignty of the republic, which she had so long disputed at a vast expence of blood and treasure, with an obstinacy which has scarcely any parallel in history. The year following restored tranquillity to Europe by the peace of Westphalia.

During this war, as well as the former, the Dutch republic had extended its commerce and conquests in both the extremities of the globe. Besides the already mentioned seizure of Brazil in America, its acquisitions in Asia were of equal importance, and more permanent. Its East India Company had obtained possession of Malacca, and engrossed the trade of Japan. About the year 1650, the commerce of the United Provinces had attained to its meridian. As the Dutch republic, especially in regard to its commercial affairs, exhibits a phœnomenon in history, it may not be amiss to take a general view of some of the principal circumstances that have contributed to its rise and to its decline. In this retrospect it will clearly appear, that the mercantile greatness of the United Provinces arose from a concurrence of physical and moral causes, the latter proceeding chiefly from the former, from the natural defects of climate and situation. A numerous population, limited to a very contracted territory, producing but few of the necessaries and still fewer of the conveniences of life, soon discovered

the

the necessity of repairing for supplies, to the ports of more fertile and extensive countries. The scarcity of land, as well as its unproductiveness, induced them to turn their attention to the sea and to increase their fisheries, the first basis of their commerce.* These gradually introduced a foreign trade, and trained the people to seafaring habits. Superior skill in the art of navigation necessarily followed, which encouraged them to cultivate it as a distinct profession, and induced them to undertake the carriage of merchandize between different nations. As they excelled in this species of industry, it became their favorite employment; and these habits and pursuits rendering them a nation of fishermen, merchants, and sailors, enabled them to overcome the disadvantages of their local situation, in a country of narrow extent and little fertility, exposed to the encroachments of the ocean, and in a climate unfavourable to vegetation.

The political circumstances of the Dutch were, at the commencement of their republic, at the least as perplexing as the physical state of their country was unpropitious. The most powerful monarchy of Europe employed the finest armies in the world, and all the wealth of Mexico and Peru to crush their rising greatness. But these difficulties, by adding public enthusiasm to private industry, only stimulated their ardour in every pursuit, and drew forth new efforts from those laborious and frugal habits, to which the physical disadvantages of their situation had first given rise. Their government, seeing trade essential to the prosperity of the republic, and even necessary to its existence, considered it as the grand object of attention; and acquired a clearer perception of the com-

* Brougham, Col. Policy, vol. 1. p. 282.

mercial interests of the nation, than any other states at that period had attained. From these circumstances arose the cautious conduct of the Hollanders in profiting by the political contests of their neighbours, and turning to their own commercial advantage, those almost continual wars which interrupted the trade of other nations. Whenever they engaged in warfare, it was to main ain their independence or to promote their commercial interests: the extension of their European territory, narrow as it was, never entered into the plan of their politics. Their conquests were all subservient to commerce, and made in distant quarters of the globe. The same physical disadvantages and the same attention to their mercantile interests, induced them to adopt that liberal and enlightened system of civil and religious toleration, which at different times brought such an accession of capital as well as of industry into the United Provinces. A judicious author observes that "no branch of European industry is known, which the spirit of persecution has not driven into Holland, or which liberty has not attracted thither in those times when that country was regarded as a sure asylum against tyranny and oppression."* Thus the bigotry of ecclesiastics and the folly of statesmen, in other countries, contributed to the wealth and aggrandizement of the Dutch republic. The reader, however, will readily observe, that few of these extraordinary effects could have been produced, had not the United States acquired an independent existence as a distinct political community. So long as they remained an appendage to a foreign crown, they could have had little other stimulus than that which arose from the physical cir-

* La Richesse de la Hollande, vol. 2. p. 437.

cumstances

cumstances of their situation, which indeed constituted the basis of all that followed: the general revolt of the Netherlands, which ruined the trade of Antwerp, and terminated in the independence of the Seven Provinces, was the great moral cause of their subsequent greatness.

The middle of the seventeenth century closes the most interesting and extraordinary part of the Batavian history. The republic had obtained a conspicuous rank in the scale of nations, and its commerce had reached its zenith. The subsequent transactions of the republic, are such as are found in all political annals, and exhibit scarcely any thing remarkably striking, except the gradual decline of a trade once so superior to that of all other nations. Mention has already been made of the wars, which the Dutch carried on against England in the time of the Commonwealth, and in the reign of Charles II. In these wars, they disputed with the English the dominion of the seas; their naval power, indeed, was formidable, and the abilities of their admirals, Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and others, have rendered their names immortal. The year 1654, was extremely unfortunate for their West India Company by the loss of Brazil, from which they were expelled by the Portugueze. The Company had expended near 16,000,000*l.* sterling, in effecting the conquest of that colony, with the isle of St. Thomas and Angola in Africa, which latter they also lost, as well as Brazil, after having exhausted the greater part of their capital by those enormous disbursements.* The East India Company, however, was every where successful, and before the end of the year 1663, had conquered almost all the settle-

* And Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 430.

ments

ments of the Portugueze in India and the Oriental islands. The year 1672, was a terrible crisis to the Hollanders, when, being attacked by the united forces of Charles II, and Louis XIV, they asserted their dominion on the sea, in that memorable naval engagement between De Ruyter and the Duke of York, in which the Dutch admiral Van Ghent, with the French admiral De la Robiniere were slain, and the English admiral, the Earl of Sandwich, was blown up with his ship. On this memorable occasion, the navy of the republic shewed itself a match for the combined fleets of France and England. But at land, their inferiority to France alone was fatally conspicuous. Louis XIV. invaded the United Provinces, took one place after another, and advanced as far as Utrecht. His troops made excursions even within a few miles of Amsterdam. In this extremity the Hollanders had recourse to their last expedient, that of cutting their dykes, and deluging the country. The innumerable villas near Amsterdam, with the neighbouring cities, Leyden, Delft, &c. as well as the surrounding villages, were submerged in the water, while the view of their lands covered by the sea, and their cattle drowning in the fields, gave little concern to a people resolved to die in defence of their liberties. "Amsterdam," says Voltaire, "appeared like a vast fortress in the midst of the sea, surrounded with ships of war, which had now a depth of water sufficient to admit of their being stationed round the city, where fresh water was sold at six stivers per pint."* He

* Voltaire Siecle de Louis XIV. These ships of war mentioned by Voltaire, could be nothing more than gun boats, &c. It would be absurd to imagine the depth of water round Amsterdam to have been sufficient for ships of the line, or even for frigates.

also

also adds, that in this desperate emergency, the richest families, and those most desirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and that the vessels capable of performing this voyage being numbered, were found sufficient to convey 50,000 families to that distant settlement. But they were fortunate enough not to be reduced to this desperate resource; the emperor Leopold, the elector of Brandenburg, and the Spaniards, all flew to their succour. The French monarch, unable to make any farther progress in a country overflowed by the sea, had no other alternative than to retire; and the republic, by the assistance of its allies, soon recovered all that it had lost. But the most singular circumstance of this memorable crisis, and what most astonished Europe, was, that Holland, while buried under water, was still formidable on the ocean, and under the conduct of her gallant admiral, De Ruyter, bade defiance to the united naval force of England and France. Subsequent to this epoch, the transactions of the Dutch exhibit nothing particularly striking. Their conduct towards England, at various times, has already been noticed, and particularly the part which they took in the support of the revolted Colonies of America.* The war in which they were involved on that account, was extremely disastrous to the republic. All their West India settlements were seized by the English, their vessels were captured, and their commerce ruined. These misfortunes aggravated the animosities subsisting between the patriots and the Orange party, two factions which had existed in the republic ever since its establishment, and of which sometimes one, sometimes the other, had preponderated. The patriots

* See Hist. View of England in this work.

blamed

blamed the Stadtholder for the losses which the nation had sustained. The Orange party accused their antagonists of having involved the States in a dangerous war, for which they were totally unprepared, and, in support of the charge, adverted to the frequent representations made by the prince* and the council of state, respecting the notorious deficiency of all warlike articles in the dock yards and arsenals at the commencement of hostilities, and during their continuance.†

During these altercations between the two parties, the Emperor Joseph II, peremptorily insisted on the opening of the Scheld, and a war between Austria and the republic seemed inevitable, but the affair ended in an accommodation. In the mean while, the various charges and vindications of the Stadtholderians and the patriots continued, till at last the two parties came to an open rupture. Hostilities commenced, and the United Provinces were threatened with all the calamities of a civil war. These turbulent commotions, however, subsided on the approach of the king of Prussia, who undertook the support of the Stadtholder and the constitution, and marching an army into the territory of the States, took possession of Rotterdam, and other places, almost without resistance.‡ These decisive measures produced a formal reconciliation between the parties, and the Stadtholdership, as well as the hereditary government of each province, was, by the courts of London and Berlin, guaranteed to the august house of Orange. This government, however, apparently

* Reisbeck, 3, 310, 311. † Ibid.

‡ For a detailed account of these transactions, vide Segur's Fred. William, vol. 1.

resting

resting on so solid a basis, was shortly after overturned by the revolutionary volcano which burst out at Paris, and from that tremendous centre, communicated shocks more or less violent to all parts of Europe. The entrance of the French into Holland, their easy conquest of the country, and the conversion of the Batavian republic into a monarchy, of which Louis Buonaparté is appointed the sovereign, have already been mentioned.

As commerce is the most distinguished feature in the history of the ancient Dutch republic, or present Batavian kingdom, and as the circumstances to which it owed its origin and extraordinary progress, have been brought forward to distinct observation, it is requisite to exhibit the counterpart by tracing the causes of its gradual decline. We have already seen the astonishing height to which it had risen about the middle of the seventeenth century, and the splendor in which it for some time after continued. The two small provinces of Holland and Zealand, without producing scarcely a single commodity for exportation, had more shipping than all the rest of Europe together. A modern writer, who displays great accuracy of investigation, and justness of remark, says, It is probable that the Dutch have frequently been creditors, at one time, to the amount of greatly above 3,000,000*l.* sterling, to their own government and to foreign states, of which we may reckon two-thirds in foreign loans; an immense sum of surplus capital to have been accumulated by a nation possessed of no greater territory than the principality of Wales, without any good harbours, or any natural produce fit for exportation.* The same judicious author, in another

* Brougham's Colon. Policy, vol. 1, p. 500.

place

place observes, that the United Provinces displayed "An accumulation of more inhabitants in the same space, than is known in any other part of Europe; of more industry in the same bulk of population, than was ever found in any other country; and of far more wealth in the hands of the nation, than was ever possessed elsewhere by the same number of men."*

Ever since the middle of the seventeenth century, the Batavian commerce has gradually declined. Sir W. Temple, speaking of this subject in the year 1673, says, "I am of opinion that trade has, some years ago, passed its meridian, and begun sensibly to decay among them, whereof there seems to be several causes; as first, the general application that so many other nations have made to it, within these two or three and twenty years."† This observation of Sir W. Temple, however, is scarcely consistent with the opinion of the pensionary De Witt, that from 1648 to 1669, the trade of the United Provinces had increased one-half; and his remark, that the city of Amsterdam had also received an enlargement of two-thirds, and those of Leyden, Dort, &c. in proportion.‡ But it must be observed, that all this wonderful increase had taken place in the former part of the period here mentioned, and that the year 1656, was the epoch of the last enlargement of the city of Amsterdam, although great additions were made to its fortifications in 1672, when Louis XIV. invaded Holland.§ The stupendous naval efforts of the republic, and its numerous shipping at that period, indeed,

* Brougham's Colon. Policy, vol. 1, p. 291.

† Temple Observ. ch. 4.

‡ De Witt. Int. de la Holl. par 2, ch. 2, and par. 3, ch. 6.

§ And. Hist. Com. vol. 2, p. 437.

sufficiently

sufficiently display the greatness of its power, and the still flourishing state of its trade. But these were only the effects of the impulse formerly given and still operating, and of an immense capital employed in a vast and multifarious commerce, which for some time overwhelmed all competition. Holland had lost her commercial advantages, but not her commercial spirit, and her vast capital, already acquired, enabled her for some time to carry on, without any apparent diminution, her extensive trade, under increasing disadvantages, and at reduced profits. Her East India Company having monopolized the spice trade, long continued opulent and powerful, but gradually declined through its vast expences and various kinds of mismanagement. The sums paid to the government for the renewal of its charters, the vast customs on its exports and imports, its loans to the States on pressing occasions, especially in the critical emergencies of the Spanish war, the quantity of salt petre furnished at a low price to the army and navy, the annual revenue which it allotted to the Stadtholder, its vast dividends, its support of the manufactures, the immense sums expended in the building, and the repairs of its vessels giving employment to many thousands of people, and the vast fortunes acquired by the numerous officers in the company's service, have been unquestionable benefits to the republic, greatly overbalancing the drain of silver to India.* The prosperity of this company has, therefore, been at all times a favorite object, both with the government and the people. Some have even gone so far as to call the East India Company the evident cause and

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 149.

principal

principal support of the power of the Dutch republic.* With these visible benefits, however, a number of circumstances detrimental to the United Provinces was connected, among which, none perhaps has been more prejudicial, than the selfish policy of the company in discouraging the growth of the settlements, and particularly of that extensive and most valuable territory the Cape of Good Hope.† The West India Company has been far less successful than that of the East. Being established in the most brilliant period of Dutch heroism, it was for some time exceedingly prosperous. Besides conquering Brazil, it destroyed the rich trade of Mexico and Peru, and took from the Spaniards and Portugueze, prizes to an immense amount. During this splendid period, 800 vessels were constantly employed in the commercial and military operations of the West Indies. But the loss of Brazil, after the vast sums expended on its conquest, was a fatal blow to the company, which sunk to indigence and obscurity as rapidly as the East India Company rose to opulence and splendor.‡ The decline of the other branches of Dutch commerce, may easily be traced to its true causes, when it is considered that they have no staple commodity, no produce for exportation, and were only carriers between different nations for a stipulated freightage, or traders purchasing the commodities of one country and selling them in another, without any merchandize of their own. Their commercial advantages, therefore, consisted in a large capital, and in mercantile industry and skill, which other nations might also acquire, which consequently always lay open to compe-

* Robinet Dict. de l'Homme d'Etat, 117. † Sparman's trav. tom. 1.

‡ Brougham Col. Policy, vol. 1, p. 338.

tition, and of which they could not fail of being deprived, whenever other nations should begin to pay proper attention to navigation and trade, and to export in their own vessels their own commodities. The decline of the trade of Holland, was only a necessary consequence of the commercial improvements of other nations, and particularly of England and France, as its extraordinary rise had been chiefly owing to their neglect in that particular. The famous English navigation act, was one of the first fatal blows to the Dutch commerce. Till that time, they had been almost the sole carriers of merchandize between different countries in this part of the world.* All the trade between England and Holland, and a great part of the English trade with other countries, was carried on in Dutch vessels, a practice to which this act put a period. And the value of the goods exported from France, in Dutch bottoms, in the year 1658, was estimated at 43,000,000, of all which carriage they were deprived by the tonnage duty imposed by Louis XIV, in imitation of the English navigation act.† Other European nations have, at different times, adopted measures similar to those of France and England, and with the same views. All these arrangements, however, tended only to accelerate effects, which would, in process of time, have been produced by the general progress of commercial improvement.

In concluding, we cannot, however, but make this observation, that although the decline of Dutch commerce, was the natural consequence of the improvement of that of other nations, the fall of the Dutch republic is scarcely less extraordinary than its rise.

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2, p. 416. † Brough. Col. Policy, vol. 1, p. 310.

On contemplating the noble and successful efforts made by the Hollanders, against the formidable power of Spain, during so great a length of time, with a resolution and perseverance scarcely paralleled in history, and their vigorous resistance against the victorious arms of France on the invasion of their territory by Louis XIV, in contrast with the events of the present age, the moral observer is struck with astonishment. In comparing the sieges of Leyden, Haarlem, &c. with the pusilanimous surrender of Rotterdam and Amsterdam to the French revolutionists, we can hardly believe the Batavians of the ages alluded to, and those of the present day, to be the same people, and breathing the same air. But armies and navies, and magazines of warlike stores, are of little avail, if the minds of men be conquered or corrupted.

In all political or tactical calculations, on the probable issue of any national crisis, it is not enough to examine resources alone, we must estimate characters, and have just conceptions of the state of the public mind. Of this truth, the revolutions of France and Holland afford striking examples, without mentioning a multitude of others which occur in ancient and modern history.

CHAP. IV.

Religion — Government — Laws — Army — Navy — Revenues — Commerce—Manufactures — Population — Political importance and relations—Language—Literature—Polite Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character.

CALVINISM is the established religion of the Batavian kingdom. The ecclesiastics are divided into four ranks, professors in the universities, preachers, elders, and deacons; and the ecclesiastical government is administered by consistories, classes, and synods. The provincial synods are annually convened: the national synod is summoned only on important occasions. The last was that of Dort, A.D. 1618, famous or rather infamous for the condemnation of Arminius and his doctrines, exhibiting to the world a Protestant assembly, assuming all the importance of papal infallibility, and acting in a manner that might have rendered them worthy of the management of the Spanish inquisition. The number of classes is fifty-seven, and 1570 is that of the preachers. Except in the affair of Arminius, unbounded toleration has ever prevailed, and been one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the Batavian church. The Catholics are supposed to have 350 churches, and about 400 priests: the other principal denominations are the Lutherans, the Anabaptists, and the Arminians, or Remonstrants. There are some Quakers, and the Jews are exceedingly numerous. This universal tolera-

tion, and the religious concord, as well as political tranquillity, with which it has been accompanied, strikingly shews the absurdity of persecution, and how much blood might have been spared, if all nations had acted on the same conciliating principles.

Government.]—The United Provinces composed seven distinct republics, closely connected in a political confederacy. Each province had its own states, consisting of nobles and burgesses. These provincial states sent their deputies to the states-general, in which each republic had only one voice. The power of peace and war, of appointing ambassadors, concluding treaties, &c. resided with the states-general. The stadtholdership was originally a sort of dictatorial office, instituted in the critical emergency of the republic, and at last rendered hereditary in the family of Orange. At present the government is a monarchy, with Louis Buonaparté for the sovereign.

Laws.]—Each province had a separate court, in which justice was administered independently of the other states. The local customs and statutes of each province and city, the ordinances of the states-general, and the Roman code, were the basis of their jurisprudence. The Stadtholder had the power of pardoning offences, with the consent of the president and superior court of each province. Since the late political revolutions, it is uncertain what alterations may have taken place in the juridical system.

Military and naval force.]—According to the last lists of the army it amounted to about 36,000 or 37,000. Of late, and indeed at present, it may be considered as incorporated with that of France. Their navy, which history exhibits as once so powerful, has now almost disappeared.

Revenue.

Revenue.]—The revenue of the United States was about 3,500,000*l*. sterling. Two millions eight hundred thousand were annually received as interest of loans to foreign powers. The national debt was about 130,000,000*l*.

Commerce and manufactures.]—After what has been said respecting the commerce of Holland, little more need to be added. Perhaps that carried on by the East India Company, although exceedingly diminished, is yet one of its most considerable branches. During the war of 1756, between England and France, and in the first years of the American war, while the States preserved a neutrality, Holland was the grand focus of commerce between Great Britain and the continent. The advantages derived by the Dutch at such times, from their situation and the contests of their neighbours, seem to have been one of the last and principal props of their declining trade. At present, the only branch that is not interrupted by the ravages of maritime war, is that carried on with Belgium and Germany, by the Scheld, the Meuse, and the Rhine, as well by their numerous canals. This commerce is at all times considerable.

The Batavian manufactures are chiefly those of linen, pottery, and painted tiles, leather, sugar, wax, snuff, starch, and paper, with some of woollen, cotton, and silk.* The linens of Haarlem and Leyden have already been noticed, as well as the paper manufactories of Saardam. Delft is principally remarkable for its potteries. The manufactories of Holland were established and supported chiefly by the French and Flemings, whom religious persecution had expelled from their country. These contributed, in no small

* Marshall, vol. 1, p. 225.

 degree,

degree, to render the decline of commerce less rapid. It has generally been the good fortune of the Dutch to profit by the follies of their neighbours.

Population.]—By the most recent statements the population of Holland is 980,000, and that of all the Seven Provinces 2,758,000, which gives 275 for each square mile, reckoning 10,000 for the whole extent of the territory.

Political importance and relations.]—The political importance of Batavia, which, as well as its commercial fame, was once considerable, seems at present annihilated, except as considered in union with France. Buonaparté having invested his brother with the sovereignty, it cannot be said to have any political relations distinct from those of the Gallic empire.

Language.]—The Dutch language is a dialect of the German, harsh and disagreeable in its pronunciation, inelegant, but sufficiently energetic.

Literature.]—Their literature, however, is more respectable than that of the neighbouring Belgians. Erasmus was the glory of Holland. Grotius, who was a native of Delft, may be placed in the same rank of literary honour. Boerhaave has already been mentioned, and to these a number of illustrious names may be added. Hoogeveen, of Leyden, who died in 1794, had the reputation of being the first Greek scholar in Europe. The learning of Holland has laid under great disadvantages. Most of the Dutch literati have used the Latin or French languages, and it is not until lately that their own has been cultivated, and exhibited several works of science and genius. Literature, as well as commerce and arms, is influenced by circumstances. The French is what the Greek

and

and Latin were formerly, the universal language of civilized countries, and a marked object of education, a circumstance which, independent of their transcendent merit, has greatly contributed to the extensive celebrity of the French writers. The Dutch language, on the contrary, has never had the fortune to be fashionable. The little spot of swampy ground, which they inhabit, was until towards the end of the sixteenth century almost unknown to the rest of Europe. From their noble struggle against the efforts of Spain, they acquired some martial celebrity; but afterwards their fame was chiefly commercial; and neither the country, the people, nor their language, attracted the attention of the literary world. Batavian genius has, therefore, been buried, like ore in the mine, and Batavian literature, confined to the narrow limits of its language, has been little noticed by foreigners. Impartiality, however, will confess, that in proportion to the contracted territory and the small population, so much occupied with mercantile pursuits, the display of knowledge and the number of the learned have been far from inconsiderable.

Education.]—The mode of education in the Batavian Provinces has been much inferior to that pursued in Scotland, a country where the same religion prevails, and where the ecclesiastical regulations are nearly similar. The universities are five, Utrecht, Leyden, Groningen, Franeker, and Harderwyck, with two inferior colleges at Amsterdam and Deventer, and an academy of sciences at Haarlem. The Latin schools of Rotterdam, Breda, &c. are of considerable celebrity; but the common destination of youth to seafaring occupations, was an insuperable obstacle to that general diffusion of useful knowledge by the

means of parochial schools, which took place in Scotland.

Persons, manners, and customs.]—The Dutch are in general somewhat low in stature, and of a heavy make. The complexion of both sexes is almost invariably fair, unless when altered by a seafaring life. That of the fair sex, especially in North Holland, is extremely fine; but a disagreeable effect is produced by the immoveable fixture of the red, which, instead of being diffused in a gentle blush, forms as it were one strong circle in each cheek, never yielding to any passions or feelings; and the white being equally inflexible, this invariability of colouring gives to the countenance an unmeaning cast, resembling painted wax-work. But this is chiefly observable in North Holland, and age itself can hardly remove or diminish those fixed colours. This singular clearness of complexion is owing to the cold and foggy moisture of the air.* In Amsterdam, where, more than in any other part of the country, the atmosphere is a foul aggregate of vapours, there is less appearance of health and vigour than in other parts of the United Provinces. The Dutch dress is but little subject to variation. The broad umbrella bonnet is still retained by the women, as also the enormous pad to swell out the hips. The polite and the fashionable, in large cities, generally conform to the French modes, but often retain some peculiarities. They are extremely fond of salted and highly-seasoned victuals, and much addicted to spirituous liquors. The use of such aliments seems to be enforced by the climate, to which they are well adapted, as tending to correct the effects of cold and humidity. The theatres, tea-gardens, and

* Pratt's Gleanings in Holland, vol. 2. p. 406.

coffee-

coffee-houses, may be ranked among their usual amusements; and in winter, skaiting is a favourite diversion among all ranks, from the senator to the peasant and the milk-maid. The opulent merchants also take great delight in their villas, thickly planted among their numerous canals; and in large and expensive collections of paintings and prints, which, among them, are articles of commerce, as well as objects of curiosity.

National character.]—The national character of the Dutch has, through ignorance and prejudice, been grossly misrepresented. They have been described as dead to every feeling except that of avarice, and perhaps their steady industry has given them this appearance in the eyes of idle and dissipated foreigners. Their exterior reservedness, destitute of those attractive graces so common among the people of some other countries, is considered by inaccurate estimators as arising from churlishness of disposition and want of benevolence. But an impartial observer will soon discover, that, amidst this apparent defect of politeness, a foreigner will experience as much real kindness in Holland, as in France, or in England.* The Dutch have nothing to bestow on idleness; but industry is encouraged, and real want as amply relieved as in other countries. Steady perseverance has ever been their distinguishing characteristic, but recent events shew that the age of Batavian heroism is passed.

* Pratt, vol. 2, p. 226.

CHAP.

SPAIN.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities—Artificial Curiosities.

SPAIN extends from the 36th to the 44th degree of north latitude, and from somewhat more than 9 degrees west, to a little beyond the 3d degree of east longitude. Its greatest length is about 600 miles, from west to east, and its greatest breadth, from north to south, about 500; comprising an area of about 148,400 square miles.* Spain has a great extent of coast, being every where surrounded by the sea, except the space which Portugal occupies on the west, between its frontiers and the Atlantic, and the side where the Pyrenées, on the north, separate it from France.

Face of the country.]—The face of the country is in general delightful, being greatly diversified with hills and dales, elevated mountains and extensive plains, exhibiting a variety of magnificent and extensive prospects.

Mountains.]—The Spanish mountains are arranged

* Zimmermann, Stat. Table. 1.

by

by nature in distinct chains. The most northern range may be considered as a continuation of the Pyrenées; running along the southern edge of Biscay and the Asturias, it extends into Gallicia, and is in different parts distinguished by different names, as the mountains of Biscay, of Asturias, and of Mondonedo. The next grand chain of Spanish mountains, extending from near Soria, on the north east, pursues a south west direction into Portugal, where it nearly joins to the Sierra d'Estrella. This chain separates the old from the new Castile.* The mountains of Toledo run nearly in a parallel direction with the former, and extend to the frontiers of Portugal. The next chain, still more to the south, is the Sierra Morena, or brown mountains. The most southern ridge is that of Sierra Nevada, or the snowy mountains. These five principal ranges of Spanish mountains run in a direction nearly parallel, extending from the north-east to the south-west, through the greatest part of the kingdom. The eastern extremities of the three first are connected by a chain running from south-east to north-west, through old Castile, and joining the mountains of Asturias, the famous refuge of Spanish independence at the time of the Arabian conquest. Many of the mountains, especially in the middle ranges, are granitic.†

Montserrat is a natural curiosity, being a solitary mountain of a singular form, appearing at a great

* Dillon's Trav. p. 115.

† Townsend's Trav. vol. 1, p. 89, 219, vol. 2, p. 107, 290. Compare this description of the chains of Spanish mountains with the best maps of Spain. It may not be amiss to observe, that the term Sierra, peculiar to Spanish geography, is used to denote any range of mountains, of which the successive summits present the resemblance of a saw.

distance

distance like a sugar loaf, but on a nearer approach presenting a vast assemblage of pyramidal rocks, piled one upon another to the height of about 1100 yards. The whole composes an enormous mass, not less than fourteen miles in circuit. From some of its peaks may be seen the islands of Majorca and Minorca at the distance of 150 miles;* and it commands a still more extensive view of the eastern parts of Spain, as far as the kingdom of Murcia. Montserrat stands in a vast plain, about thirty miles north-west of Barcelona, and is named by the Catalonians Monte Serrado, from its jagged top presenting the resemblance of a saw. It has during some ages been inhabited only by monks and hermits. No place in the world, indeed, can be better adapted to retirement and contemplation. Here is a convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to which pilgrims resort from all parts of Europe. The religious of this monastery never eat animal food. They adhere on the whole to rigid rules of abstinence. Their manners are hospitable, and their lives are exemplary. The number of professed monks is seventy-six, of lay-brothers twenty-eight, and of singing boys twenty-five, besides physicians, surgeons, and servants. All the poor who come here are fed gratis for three days, and all the sick are received into the hospital; but people of condition pay a reasonable price for their entertainment. Sometimes, on particular festivals, 6000 or 7000 persons resort to this convent. On different parts of the mountain are a number of hermitages, all of which have their chapels, and most of them small gardens.

* Townsend's Trav. vol. 1, p. 189.

Rivers.]—The chief rivers of Spain are the Tagus or Tajo, the Guadiana, the Douro, the Guadalquiver, and the Ebro. The Tagus rises in the west of Arragon, near the Sierra Blanca, which is esteemed the highest land in Spain. Taking a south-west direction through Spain, it enters Portugal, and passing by Lisbon, completes a course of about 520 British miles. The Guadiana rises in the Sierra Morena, pursues a course of about 440 English miles, through western Spain and a part of Portugal, and falls into the bay of Cadiz. The Douro rises near the spot where once stood the ancient Numantia, famous in Roman history. It traverses the kingdom of Portugal and falls into the Atlantic after a course of about 410 English miles. The Guadalquiver derives its source from the Sierra Morena, and, after watering Seville, falls into the bay of Cadiz. Its course may be computed at about 345 miles. The Ebro rises in the mountains of Asturias, and after a south-easterly course of about 440 miles falls into the Mediterranean. Several other rivers of less importance flow into that sea, as the Guadalavir, the Xucar, and the Segura, which water the fertile plains of Murcia.* The Minho, which rises in Gallicia, is remarkable only by its forming a part of the boundary between that province and Portugal.

Canals.]—Spain has of late made some noble attempts at inland navigation. But this plan of national improvement, although commenced on the united principles of grandeur and utility, has been suffered to languish through the want of resources; the slow measures of the court, and the inattention of the

* Pinkerton's Geog. 1.

grandees,

grandees, rather than through any defect in the engineers, superintendants, or labourers. The great canal of Castile was to extend from Segovia, about forty miles north of Madrid, to the Bay of Biscay. Two branches of the great canal of Arragon, from the Ebro towards Navarre, were some time ago finished.* Perhaps the whole may now be completed, as well as that of Guadarama, which was designed to extend from the vicinity of the Escurial to the Tagus. Another canal was also projected from that river to Madrid, which could not fail of being attended with the most beneficial consequences. One of the Spanish canals is conducted over a valley by an aqueduct bridge 1420 yards in length.

Lakes.]—The lakes of Spain are so few, and of so small an extent, as scarcely to merit any attention in a view of its geography.

Mineralogy.]—The mineralogy of Spain was formerly an object of great importance. This country and Lusitania, the modern Portugal, contained the richest gold and silver mines within the limits of the Roman empire. The Spanish silver was reckoned the best any where produced, and a mine near Carthagena yielded annually about 300,000*lbs.* weight of that metal.† The mines of Asturia, Gallicia, and Lusitania, also produced every year 20,000*lbs.* weight of gold.‡ These mines, however, appear to be now exhausted, or else neglected for those of America, which are undoubtedly far more opulent. At present almost the only silver mines in Spain are those of Guadaneanal in the Sierra Morena. Lead is common in many

* Philip's Inland Nav. 65, &c.

† Strabo, lib. 3, p. 148.

‡ Pliny's Hist. Nat. lib. 33, cap. 3.

parts

parts of the country. Tin is found in Gallicia, and copper on the frontiers of Portugal. At Almaden, in La Mancha, are valuable mines of quicksilver, of which the greatest part is exported to America, where it is used in refining the gold and silver. In the district of Villa are veins of coal, as also of gold,, silver, lead, and copper.* Spain also has iron in abundance and of the first quality. Besides the mineoralogical productions here enumerated, a variety of others might be added; but they are objects of curiosity rather than of importance.

Mineral waters.]—Spain contains many mineral waters. The chief are the chalybeate springs of Buzot near Alicant, and the hot baths of Riveıa de Abajo; but none of them appear to have acquired any great celebrity.

Soil.]—The soil of Spain displays all the variety that so extensive and mountainous a country must be supposed to afford, from the barren summits of the Sierra Nevada, covered with perpetual snow, to the fertile plains of Andalusia, Grenada, and Murcia. In general, however, it is light, and rests on a substratum of gypsum, or plaister of Paris, a material which supplies an excellent manure. In some parts, it is exceedingly rich and loamy. Many of the vales, particularly those of Alicant and Valencia, display the most luxuriant fertility, which is nearly equalled by the rich plains of Andalusia, Orenada, and Murcia. It cannot, however, be denied, that Spain contains extensive tracts of moutainous and rocky country with a barren soil. The greatest part of Old Castile is a bar-

* Townsend's Travels, vol. 3. p. 344.

ren

ren district,* being a terrace or mountain plain, in winter bleak and cold, in summer destitute of water, and parched up with heat. New Castile is also a high terrace, or table land, formed by the Castilian mountains, as Old Castile is by those of Biscay.† Spain presents many other tracts of a like description, and may be said to exhibit numerous contrasts of extreme barrenness with exuberant fertility.

Climate.]—The climate of Spain is as various as its soil. Several of the mountainous parts are extremely cold. In New and still more in Old Castile, the winters are sharp and stormy, although the summers are in general very warm. In the southern provinces, the heat is frequently excessive and the air insalubrious; malignant fevers often carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants. The solano, or south wind from Africa, produces the most inflammatory and irritating effects. The climate, however, in some parts of the kingdom, is celebrated as equal, if not superior, to that of any other part of Europe.

Vegetable productions.]—The variety of soil and climate produces also a variety of vegetation. Fragant pasturage, vineyards, and groves of orange trees, are in different situations seen in perfection. Spain almost every where produces excellent wine and fruits, as well as a considerable quantity of oil. Corn of every kind is also good; but a much greater quantity might be produced if a better system of husbandry were adopted. In Catalonia, especially near Barcelona, the country is in a high state of cultivation. The regular course of husbandry in that district begins with wheat, which, being generally reaped in

* Prof. Link's Trav. in Spain, &c. chap. 8. p. 83, 87.

† Ibid. chap. 8. p. 88—100.

June,

June, is immediately succeeded by Indian corn, millet, hemp, cabbage, or lettuce. The second year, the same crops succeed each other as before. The next year begins with barley, beans or vetches, and these being ripe before midsummer, are again followed by successive crops, according to the season.* Wheat here yields ten, and in rainy seasons fifteen for one, which must be considered as a very great increase. But when we are told that, in the vale of Valencia, wheat yields from twenty to forty, barley from eighteen to twenty-four, and oats from twenty to thirty for one; the relation staggers the credulity of the English farmer, who considers England as the garden of Europe, and his countrymen the most skilful farmers in this quarter of the globe. He cannot fail, indeed, of being astonished at these reports of the Spanish soil or of the Spanish husbandry, especially when he is informed that the general mode of ploughing in Spain is with oxen yoked by the horns. After all the exaggerations of travellers, it is certain, however, that Spanish agriculture, although of late in many places greatly improved, is in general, even at present in a very imperfect state. Spain has several forests of considerable extent. Some of these are owing to the want of cultivation; others are royal forests, preserved for the pleasures of the chace. Several of them are infested with smugglers and banditti, a circumstance which renders travelling in some parts dangerous. In the elevated regions of the mountainous tracts, especially in Biscay, Asturias, &c. the forests resemble those of England, the timber consisting chiefly of the common oak, the lime, the birch, the beech, the mountain ash, &c. The more

* Townsend's Travels, vol. 1. p. 179.

common woodlands are mostly calcareous, and the trees are chiefly ilex or evergreen oak, which grows to the size of an ordinary pear tree, and produces abundant crops of sweet acorns, a fruit found exceedingly useful, not only for the fattening of hogs but also for the nourishment of the poorer sort of the peasantry.* The arid and heathy tracts are distinguished from those of other European countries by their numerous aromatic plants, as well as the beautiful and singular shrubs, which give to the Spanish prospects a peculiar appearance.

Zoology.]—Spain has, in general, the same animals as the other European countries. But the glory of the Spanish zoology is the horse, probably originating from the barb of the north of Africa, the immediate offspring of the Arabian. The Spanish horses have been famed in all ages. Their size is not large, but they are beautiful and extremely spirited. The Romans, as already observed, used to prefer the horses of Spain and of Cappadocia before all others for mounting their cavalry. The Spanish ass is a noble animal, although not equal to that of Arabia. The mules are also excellent, and greatly used in travelling, being peculiarly adapted to a mountainous country. The horned cattle are, in general, somewhat small. But the Spanish sheep, as connected with national circumstances, and giving rise to a peculiar system of national husbandry, may be considered as one of the most curious and important subjects in the whole range of zoology. A code of laws called the Maesta, consisting of a grant of privileges the most inconsistent with the principles of justice and national interest, that partial and impolitic liberality

* Link's Trav. ch. 8. p. 84. ch. 10. p. 110, &c.

ever

ever lavished on its favourites, is instituted for regulating this branch of Spanish husbandry, which presents an insurmountable obstacle to agriculture.* The great proprietors of flocks have, by this law, a right to drive them from the northern provinces quite through the interior of Spain, into Estremadura and Andalusia for winter pasture. On their way these flocks have the free use of all the commons and uninclosed grounds, which, in Spain are more numerous and extensive than in any other country of Europe, many of those of Andalusia containing not less than 200,000 acres, all in pasture and waste, although capable of the highest cultivation; while several of not much inferior extent are seen in other parts of the kingdom. In the two tracks, through which the sheep pass, no inclosures can be made without leaving a space of ninety yards wide for their accommodation. They have the use of all the olive grounds; and even in the most cultivated districts, their pasturage is fixed at a very low price. The shepherds have also certain privileges of woodcutting. Not less than 5,000,000 of sheep with about 25,000 shepherds, as many dogs, and a considerable number of horses twice every year, during the space of forty days, ravage the finest provinces of Spain. All those parts of the kingdom that are subject to the Maesta, present a picture of desolation; and Spanish agriculture is chiefly confined to the districts where the absence of this singular evil counterbalances all the natural disadvantages of soil and climate. These annual migrations of the Spanish flocks seem to be a relic of the pastoral times, which an impolitic government has sanctioned and rendered perpetual. It is not,

* Zimmermann, Statist. p. 321.

however, impossible that the Spanish wool may derive from this system its excellence, as it is by some ascribed not only to the particular breed of the sheep, but also to their copious sweating.* Others, however, are rather inclined to attribute it to the purity of the air and the aromatic pasturage of Spain.† An eminent statistical writer computes the whole income derived from the Spanish flocks at 8,500,000 livres, of which 2,200,000 are paid to government; and the expences being about 5,600,000 livres, the net benefit to the proprietors does not exceed 700,000 livres, or about 30,650*l.* sterling, a very trifling advantage when put in the balance against so great a national evil.‡

Natural curiosities.]—Spain abounds with natural curiosities, which have been little illustrated. Many such are collected in the royal cabinet of natural history at Madrid, which since 1775 has been opened to the public. Montserrat has already been mentioned. The rock of Gibraltar, one of the pillars of Hercules celebrated by the ancient writers, may also be regarded as a natural curiosity. This rock is calcareous and almost perpendicular. On the west side, at the height of about 1100 feet above the level of the sea, is the cave of St. Michael, remarkable for its numerous stalactitic columns. The summit of the rock commands, in clear weather, a grand and extensive prospect, comprizing the town and bay of Gibraltar, the towns of St. Roque, and Algesiras in Spain, the adjacent straits, Mount Abyla, the other column of Hercules on the African side, with the cities of Tangier and Ceuta, and a large extent of the coast of Barbary.

* Link's Trav. p. 122. † Pink. Geog. vol. 1 p. 438. ‡ Zim. Stat. p. 320.

Antiquities,

Antiquities, and artificial curiosities.]—The remains of antiquity in Spain are numerous and magnificent, but of different kinds, corresponding with the various periods of its history. Of the Carthaginian domination, few relics exists; but Roman monuments are too numerous to admit of a particular description. The chief of these is the superb aqueduct of Segovia, consisting of 159 arches and extending about 740 yards; its height, being not less than 94 feet, where it crosses the middle of the valley, corresponds with the other dimensions, and completes the grandeur of the fabric. Tarragona, Toledo, and Morviedo, the ancient Saguntum destroyed by Hannibal, contain various remains of Roman antiquity. The monuments of Moorish magnificence are numerous and splendid. Among these must be reckoned the mosque at Cordova, the columns of which are computed at 800. The sumptuous palace of Zebra, three miles from Cordova, erected, according to Cardonne, A.D. 950, by the Caliph Abdourrahman III. at the amazing expence of 2,500,000*l.* sterling, appears to have been annihilated during the wars between the two nations which then divided Spain. But the Alhambra at Grenada, finished in 1336, affords to this day an unequivocal proof of the wealth and magnificence of the Moorish kings.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices—Islands.

Madrid.]—MADRID is situated on the banks of the Manzanares, in 40° 25′ north latitude, and nearly in the centre of Spain. It stands in a spacious plain destitute of fertility. The city, however, is handsome; the houses are of brick; all the streets are well paved, and have broad footways for passengers, a convenience not very frequently met with on the continent. The entrance into Madrid, by the gate of Alcala, has an air of magnificence, being into the Calle d'Alcala, a very wide street, well paved and adorned with handsome buildings. Here is the royal museum, one of the noblest in Europe. Near the gate to the left is the garden of Buen Retiro; and afterwards the Prado, a fine promenade, ornamented with beautiful rows of trees and a great number of fountains. The Prado extends to the gate of Aranjuez, and is embellished with delightful gardens and fine buildings, among which is the palace of the Duc di Medina Cœli. Madrid has but lately been changed from a dirty village to a splendid capital; but the middle of the town shews an ancient origin, the streets being narrow and irregular. Here is the Plaça Major, a noble square surrounded with arcades, but being used as a market-place, its beauty is defaced by a number of shops. The farther part of the town ends in

in a steep declivity, at the bottom of which flows the Manzanares, which indeed is only a brook, but is adorned with elegant bridges; and its banks are embellished with charming walks between rows of elm and poplar. This part of the town contains the new royal palace, which is extremely magnificent, presenting four fronts of 470 feet in length and 100 in height, besides several others belonging to the nobility. The prospects in some of the streets are beautiful and striking, the mountains of Castile, with the escurial and its environs appearing in front of each vista. The churches, although they do not display the most elegant architecture, are neatly built; and their numerous towers, though none of them lofty, greatly embellish the view of the city. The interior of the houses at Madrid are in general far from corresponding with their exterior appearance. The entrances are narrow and ill contrived, the apartments inconveniently arranged, and the furniture often mean. Madrid has fifteen gates, all of them elegant, especially that of Alcala, which is composed of three arches, the central arch being seventy feet in height. At Madrid are the royal manufactures of china, saltpetre, &c. but the city has little trade, except what arises from the residence of the court and the confluence of the grandees, whose rents are expended in the capital. Situated on a small brook in a barren soil, where manufactures cannot flourish but by means of extraordinary encouragements, Madrid is great only as it were by force, by the wealth which flows in from the country estates of the nobles.

A considerable scarcity of amusements prevails at Madrid. The stage is very poor; bad pieces are performed by bad actors. In this particular the Spaniards

are inferior to the Portugueze, and although Madrid has two theatres, it has nothing in the dramatic department that can be compared with the opera at Lisbon.* The Spanish capital, indeed, appears a very dull place, except at the time of the promenade in the Prado, or in the morning at some part of the town, when mass is to be celebrated with great solemnity. The Prado is the grand promenade, where, in the morning, persons of high rank are seen both on horseback and on foot. But after the siesta or afternoon repose, it is filled with splendid equipages, which perform every day the same dull round, following each other during an hour or two up one mall, and down another, in slow and tedious procession.† Feasts and private entertainments are not in fashion at Madrid. The Spaniards seldom invite company to dinner, and scarcely ever to supper, but only to tea, where abundance of sweetmeats are devoured. The general dress of people of condition is the white cloak and sword, but they seldom wear boots. Those of the first rank, especially the men, dress in the same manner as in the other European countries; but the Spanish fashions, extend to persons in a station of life considerably elevated.‡ The appearance of the common people of Madrid, does not indicate any great degree of opulence or luxury. They are dressed entirely in brown cloth, with a brown cap, and frequently brown spatterdashes. Even the military commonly wear short brown coats. Among the ladies the black silk veil, ending in a crape which covers the face, is an indispensable part of the Spanish costume.—The population of Madrid, has been variously estimated. An eminent statistical writer computes it at only 140,000; § and a judicious

* Link's Trav. p. 99. † Ibid. p. 99. ‡ Ibid. p. 97.

§ Zimmerman's Statist. Tab. 14.

and

and accurate traveller states the number of houses at 7,398, of families at 32,745, and of inhabitants at 147,543.*

The climate of Madrid is in some respects agreeable. The air is pure and serene, and the quantity of rain that falls here is very small, as the frontier mountains of Castile arrest the progress of the clouds. But in summer the heat is excessive, and in winter the cold is intense beyond what could be supposed in so southerly a latitude. The Manzanares is frequently covered with ice, and the winds are uncommonly piercing,† a circumstance arising from the great elevation of the plain, and the chains of mountains by which it is terminated. This inconvenience is also increased by the scarcity of fuel. Scarcely any fire, except a pan of charcoal, is seen in the houses, even of persons of condition.

The environs of Madrid are far from having an agreeable aspect. The surrounding plain is naked and open, full of barren hills, and destitute of trees, except the olive, so that little is seen to enliven the prospect. Near the town some of the roads are planted with trees on each side, and in ascending the Manzanares, a wood of evergreen oaks extends to a royal hunting seat called the Prado, the most agreeable spot in the immediate vicinity of Madrid.‡ Here the steep and lofty mountains, consisting of fractured and naked rocks, of which the highest peaks are mostly covered with snow, and the bases adorned with evergreen oaks, stretch towards the city, and form a magnificent contrast with the plain. These rocky mountains are the abode of numerous wild beasts, among which the lynx may be enumerated.§—The

* Townsend's Trav. 1. † Links Trav. p. 100. ‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. p. 101.

escurial

escurial, at the distance of about twenty two miles north-west of Madrid, is the glory and boast of Spain. This superb palace is situated at the foot or rather on the lower declivity of the mountains of Guadarama, in an open and elevated country, presenting a gradual descent all the way to Madrid.* The escurial, an immense pile of building, comprising a palace, a church, and a monastery, was erected by Philip II, in commemoration of the victory of St. Quentin, gained over the French in A.D. 1557. The sums expended in the construction of this royal residence are almost incredible: but the singular fancy of planning it in the form of a gridiron, the instrument of the martyrdom of St. Laurence, on whose anniversary that victory was gained, could only have been formed in the mind of a bigot like Philip II. The convent is 740 feet in length by 580 in breadth, and the palace forms the handle of this imaginary gridiron. The fathers of the convent are 200 in number, possessing an annual revenue of 12,000*l.* sterling. There are also extensive apartments for various sorts of artists and mechanics. But if an enormous expense has been lavished on a tasteless plan of building, the interior decorations are not liable to the same reproach. In the variety and richness of its ornaments, the escurial may vie with any palace in Europe. The paintings and statues are numerous, and most of them may rank in the first degree of excellence. This palace is the residence of the royal family, from September to December, but is not fit for a winter's abode, as the situation is extremely cold, and exposed to storms from the mountains.†

Next in importance to Madrid, are the principal

* Link's Trav. p. 102. † Ibid

sea-

sea-ports, which flourish by commerce, while the cities of the interior decline through the want of agriculture, manufactures, and inland navigation.

Cadiz.]—Of the ports Cadiz is generally regarded as the principal, because there the American commerce has wholly centered, from the time of its removal from Seville till the late regulations, which have thrown that trade open to all Spanish subjects. It is seated on an island in the bay, and by means of a bridge communicates with the continent. It has little beauty; but its trade is extensive. By some its population is estimated at 70,000, by others at 80,000.*

Barcelona.]—Barcelona, considered by many geographers as the third, may deservedly be ranked as the second port of Spain and in regard to its population, which is differently estimated at 100,000, to 115,000, it is undoubtedly the next city to Madrid.† The streets of Barcelona are narrow and crooked; the churches are rich but not beautiful. The inhabitants are remarkable for their industry, and have flourishing manufactures of silk, cotton and wool, as well as of excellent fire-arms and cutlery. In times of peace it is computed, on an average, that 1,000 vessels annually enter this port, of which about half are Spanish, 120 French, 100 English, and 60 Danes, and the rest belonging to different nations. The exports are chiefly wine, brandy, and leather; the imports corn, fish and woollen goods. Here is an hospicio, or general workhouse, where about 1,400 industrious poor are maintained. The situation of this city, in a plain open to the south-east and sheltered by hills on the north and west, is pleasant and salubrious; but the east wind often brings fogs,

* Townsend's Trav. vol. 2. p. 374.—Zimm. Statist. Tab. 14.

† Zimmermann's Statist. Tab. 14. gives the number 115,000.

and

and produces a great irritability in the nervous system.

Malaga.]—Malaga is also a considerable port, being celebrated for its excellent wines, especially the rich Malaga, or mountain, and the Tinto or tent. The city is seated in a valley almost surrounded with hills. The houses are high and the streets narrow and dirty. The inhabitants are computed at 40,000, among whom are said to be great numbers of thieves and mendicants.

Among the smaller ports, Carthagena contains a population of about 23,000. To these might also be added Ferrol and Corunna. Carthagena, Ferrol and Cadiz, are the principal stations of the royal navy.

Seville.]—Of the inland cities of Spain, Seville is regarded as the chief, and even as the metropolis of the whole kingdom, Madrid being like Petersburg dignified with the name of the residence. Until the year 1720, Seville was the great emporium of the American trade. Like Venice, Genoa and Antwerp, it displays great opulence, in consequence of its former commerce, and is still one of the most magnificent cities of Spain. The cathedral is a vast gothic structure; the steeple, which is higher than St. Paul's at London, consists of three towers, one above another, and is reckoned one of the greatest curiosities in Spain: but the church itself is, in the opinion of a late traveller, much inferior to York Minster, in lightness, elegance and delicacy of Gothic architecture. From the top of the steeple, the prospect of the surrounding country is extremely beautiful. Here are many fine public buildings; and the university is richly endowed. This city is seated on the Guadalquiver; and on the other side is the large suburb of Friana, in which

which are several public walks. Seville was formerly celebrated for its numerous manufactures of silk and wool, which are now declined almost to nothing. The present population is generally estimated at about 80,000.*

Grenada.]—Grenada, the next great city, in the south of Spain, stands on two hills in the middle of a plain, terminated on the south by the Sierra Nevada, or snowy mountains, so called from being capped with perpetual snow. This capital of the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, was exceedingly rich and magnificent. Its glory and pride was the famous Alhambra, which crowned the double summit of the hills between the two small rivers Oro and Xenil, and was the glory and pride of the city The splendor of Grenada is now greatly declined; but the cathedral and the convents are rich, and contain excellent pictures by Spanish masters. The present population is computed at about 80,000. There are several fine public walks, and the environs are delightful.

Valencia.]—Valencia is a large city, with lofty walls and extensive suburbs, rich churches, and a numerous clergy. It was formerly celebrated for its manufactures, which, like those of many other cities of Spain, are greatly declined. This city is situated on the river Guadalavir in a pleasant and fertile plain, and is supposed to contain 80,000 inhabitants.

Toledo.]—In regard to ancient fame, Toledo may vie with any of the Spanish cities, and it was formerly no less considerable for its population, trade, and numerous manufactures. It once held even the rank of metropolis, and was the royal residence. Charles V. built here a magnificent palace. No city in Spain has

* Zimmerm. Statist. Tab. 14.

suffered a greater decline; and its population, which was formerly estimated at 200,000, is now diminished to 16,000, though some writers suppose it may yet amount to 25,000.* Besides the causes which have concurred to ruin the trade and manufactures of Spain, the removal of the court and the grandees to Madrid has greatly contributed to the decay of Toledo, which would have been almost deserted, had not its rich cathedral and clergy, a great part of whose revenues are spent here, contributed to preserve some commerce among the remaining inhabitants. The archbishopric is indeed the richest in Europe, having an annual revenue of about 90,000*l.* sterling. The cathedral is one of the principal religious structures of Spain. It stands nearly in the centre of the city, and before it is a fine square. Several of the gates are of bronze; and the steeple being of a great height, as well as in an elevated situation, commands a very extensive prospect. The city contains about thirty-eight convents, many of which are deserving of notice. There are also numerous churches, so that the clergy make up a very great proportion of the inhabitants. Here is also a celebrated university. The situation of Toledo, on a conical mountain of granite, almost surrounded by the Tagus,† is somewhat remarkable, and gives to the city a singular appearance; but great unevenness to the streets, which are not only steep, but most of them narrow and mean.

Sarragossa.]—Sarragossa, the chief city of Arragon, s remarkable for its rich churches and convents,‡ as

* Zimmerman gives the former number, Statist. Tab. 14.—Pinkerton the latter, Geog. vol. 1, p. 423.

† Townsend's Travels, vol. 1, p. 303. ‡ Ibid. p. 205.

well

well as for its university, which contains about 2,000 students. This city will derive great benefit from the great canal of Arragon, which is designed to extend the length of 250 English miles, from the Ebro to the western extremity of Biscay, and thus to form a communication between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. At present Sarragossa is almost destitute of trade and manufactures. The population, however, is computed at about 36,000.*

Valladolid.]—Valladolid was, at one period, the residence of the court. It is seated in a fertile plain, and is yet a large and beautiful city, but of small population, being supposed to contain not more than 19,000 inhabitants.†

Salamanca.]—Salamanca is also a large and handsome city, but the population is computed at only about 13,000.‡ Its university has long been celebrated.

Burgos.]—Burgos is an archiepiscopal see, and retains some vestiges of former opulence.

Oviedo and Leon.]—Oviedo and Leon are inconsiderable; but can boast of their ancient fame, as being successively the primitive capitals of the Spanish monarchy when the Moors possessed the rest of the kingdom.

Edifices.]—Most of the remarkable edifices have been mentioned in describing the cities. The palaces of the grandees, with few exceptions, are confined to the capital and other chief cities, as in Italy, instead of adorning the country, as in England and France. The escurial has been included in the description of the environs of Madrid, as it stands on the edge of the

* Zimmerm. Statist. Tab. 14. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

plain

plain, and may be distinctly seen from that city. The palaces of Aranjuez and St. Ildefonso, are the favorite residences of the court. The former is elegant rather than magnificent; but its gardens and park, watered by the Tagus, are celebrated for the just and natural taste in which they are laid out. The royal family spend here part of the winter and spring.* St. Ildefonso being seated on the northern declivity of a high range of mountains, is a delightful summer's residence; and the royal family generally remain here from May till September.† This palace was built by Philip V. in the taste of Versailles. It is fitted up at an extraordinary expence, and decorated with fine statues, busts, and basso relievos, as well as with excellent paintings. The gardens are in the formal French style, but embellished with a number of fine statues, fountains, and water-works.

Islands]—The principal islands adjacent to Spain, are Majorca and Minorca. Majorca is about fifty-eight English miles in length by forty-five of breadth. The north-west part is hilly; but the rest of the island abounds with cultivated lands and vineyards; and it produces excellent honey. The air is temperate. The capital town is seated on a fine bay, and contains about 10,000 inhabitants. Majorca once formed a separate kingdom, governed by a prince of the house of Arragon. The famous Raymond de Lully, a visionary of the fourteenth century, was a native of this island.

Minorca is about thirty miles in length, and twelve in medial breadth. The climate is moist, and the soil rather barren; but it produces excellent wine. Citadella is the chief town, but the population is inconsi-

* Link's Trav. p. 103. † Ibid. p. 102.

derable

derable. Port Mahon, on the south-east, which is said to derive its name from Mago, the Carthagenian general, has an excellent harbour. This island has often been seized by the English, to whom it presents an advantageous station for the Mediterranean trade.

 CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—Progress of Society—Of Arts and Sciences—Literature and Commerce.

OUR knowledge of the history of Spain previous to the Roman conquest, is confused and uncertain. Its first population was probably from different countries, situated to the north and the south, consisting of Celts from Gaul, and of Moors or Mauritani from Africa. To these must be added large colonies of Carthaginians, who, at an early period, had settled on the eastern coasts. These appear to have been the civilized inhabitants. The first authentic information relative to this country, is derived from the Roman historians of the Punic wars, of which it was one of the principal theatres. In the commencement of that celebrated contest, the Carthaginians were the ruling people in Spain. On the extinction of their power, the Romans became masters of the Carthaginian dominions: the whole Spanish continent was gradually reduced to a Roman province, and esteemed one of the most important and valuable of the whole empire. On the subversion of the Roman power by the northern barbarians, Spain experienced the same fortune as the rest of the provinces; and neither her remote situation, nor the natural rampart of the Pyrenées, could preserve her from the irruptions of those roving adventurers. In the fifth century, the Vandals conquered the country; but being afterwards weakened by their

colonies in Africa, they were subdued by the Visigoths, who founded the modern kingdom of Spain, and from whom the most ancient and noble families pretend to derive their origin.

The æra from which the modern kingdom dates its commencement, is fixed about the year 472, when Euric, a prince of the Visigoths, made a conquest of all the country, except Gallicia. That province was retained by the Suevi, a German tribe, which had entered with the Vandals; and its inhabitants preserve, to this day, a distinct character, being not less remarkable for laborious industry than most of the other Spaniards are for their indolence.* The history of the Visigoths of Spain contains little that is interesting: all its scenes are disfigured by bigotry, and stained with blood; and all its pages are filled with accounts of revolutions and crimes. The Visigoths were Arians and bloody persecutors of the Catholics. Leovigild, who conquered the Suevi of Gallicia, and died in 585, put to death his son, Hermenegild, for having embraced the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. Recared his other son and successor, having abjured Arianism, established the Catholic faith throughout his dominions. The Catholics imbibed the spirit of persecution, and the Arians, in their turn, experienced its dire effects. The Jews were also compelled to receive baptism under the penalty of death; and it was made a standing law that no prince should ascend the throne of the Visigoths without binding himself by an oath to enforce all the penalties enacted against that unfortunate people. About the commencement of the seventh century, the empire of the Visigoths was in its zenith, comprising all Spain, with part of the neigh-

* Vide account of the Galligos in the description of Lisbon.

bouring countries of Gaul and Mauritania; but their crown was elective rather than hereditary.* From the time that the Visigoths entered Spain, the prelates and nobles appear to have had the sole power of electing their sovereigns. At length this privilege was confined to the bishops and palatines, or principal officers of the crown; so that the government, although monarchical rested on the basis of an oligarchy. The clergy were all powerful: they were the judges, and, for the most part, the legislators of the kingdom; and almost all causes, civil as well as ecclesiastical, were referred to the decision of the bishops.

The invasion of the Arabs or Moors from Africa, is one of the greatest and most interesting events of Spanish history. This memorable transaction, which took place A.D. 710, was occasioned by the revenge of Count Julian, whose daughter, Roderic, the reigning king, had dishonoured. This nobleman went over into Africa, and solicited Mousa, the viceroy of Welid, Caliph of Bagdad, to undertake the conquest of Spain. Tarik, one of the lieutenants of Mousa, viceroy of Africa, accordingly made a descent with a formidable force; and the decisive battle of Xeres, in Andalusia, terminated the empire of the Visigoths.† Mousa himself soon after arrived, in order to complete the conquest, and according to the prudent policy of the Mahometan caliphs, he granted to the people the enjoyment of their religion and laws on the easy condition of tributary taxation, while he communicated all the privileges of the conquerors to those who embraced their faith. Most of the cities submitted without resistance, a few were reduced by force; but, on the whole, less opposition was made than might have been

* Geddes's Tracts, vol. 2. † Ferrara's Hist. Hispan. vol. 2.

expected. Oppas, archbishop of Seville, and uncle to the children of Witiza, whom Roderic had dethroned, sacrificing to his resentment the interests of religion, as well as those of his country, joined the Saracens; and his example was followed by a numerous party; a circumstance which shews the factious state of the kingdom and the disaffection of the subjects. Some, however, remained true to their religion and their country. Pelagius, a courageous and valiant Visigoth, of royal or at least of noble descent; but more distinguished in history by his magnanimity than by his extraction, retired with a few brave and faithful adherents to the mountains of Asturias.* In that rugged district, which nature had fortified with innumerable bulwarks, he founded a small but independent kingdom, the last refuge of patriotism, and the cradle of the present Spanish monarchy.

During the space of near forty years, Spain was greatly oppressed under the dominion of the Arabs. The governors sent by the viceroys of Africa, impoverished the people by their extortions. Several of them also erected the standard of rebellion, and the country presented a scene of oppression and anarchy; while the commotions which took place in the caliphate, relaxing all the springs and clogging all the wheels of that immense machine, the successors of Mahomet, who then resided at Damascus, could pay little attention to the affairs of so distant a province as Spain. The revolution which happened in the empire of the Saracens, A.D. 750, when the august dignity of caliph passed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abassides, gave birth to another of a nature singularly interesting, in a view of Spain and

* Ferrara ubi supra.—Mariana, vol. 1.

of Europe. Almanzor, or Abdurrahman, a prince of the royal race of the Ommiades, who had escaped from the massacre of his family, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, consisting of all the provinces which had been subject to the caliphs. Under his prudent administration the empire of the Arabs in Spain attained to the zenith of its power and splendor. It comprised Portugal and all the south of Spain as far as the mountains of Castile and Saragossa, more than three-fourths of the whole peninsula, and included the most fertile provinces. The royal residence was fixed at Cordova, which Almanzor made the seat of magnificence and of the arts. The first successors of Mahomet were enemies to literature and science, and the fanatics, who followed their standards, were ignorant barbarians; but the later caliphs encouraged what their predecessors despised; and under their patronage, the Arabs cultivated several branches of knowledge with great success. At a time when all the rest of Europe was plunged in the grossest ignorance, the empire of the Arabs in Spain flourished in science and literature, in commerce and industry.* The provinces were well cultivated, the cities adorned with magnificent structures, painting and sculpture alone being condemned by the Koran, were excluded from the monuments of Arabian magnificence. Abdurrahman was the author of this great revolution in Spain; and the impulse which he gave, long retained its force. This prince was the most powerful of all the Arabian monarchs of Spain; but it is doubtful whether literature and science had attained to their height during his reign. Historians consider the Augustan age of Arabian learning in the east as commencing with the

* Profess. Ockley, Hist. Sarac. vol. 2.

reign

reign of the caliph, Muramoun, about the 813th year of the Christian æra. Letters and sciences long flourished among them, notwithstanding their frequent wars and political revolutions; and Europe derived from them many valuable discoveries. It is universally agreed, that to the Arabs, and most probably to those of Spain, we owe the invention, or at least the introduction of the cyphers, or characters now used in Arithmetic. These were undoubtedly in use in the time of Abdourrahman, although a somewhat later period is assigned to their adoption in other parts of Europe. This, however, must be esteemed a most valuable acquisition, as greatly facilitating and expediting all kinds of arithmetical calculations, and rendering the science of arithmetic, as practised among the modern Europeans, greatly superior to that of the Greeks and the Romans, the operations of which were performed by the letters of the alphabet. The tenth century is considered as the period in which the Arabian cyphers began to be generally used in Europe.

The death of Abdurrahman was followed by dissentions among his children, which proved a favorable circumstance to the Spanish Christians. The little kingdom of Asturias, founded by Pelagus, began to extend its boundaries, and acquired the name of Leon. Other Christian kingdoms were gradually formed by Spanish chieftains; and about the commencement of the eleventh century, Navarre, Castile, and Arragon had, as well as Leon, their respective kings. Among the Arabs or Moors, the posterity of Abdurrahman continued to sway the sceptre till the year 1038. These Moorish princes displayed great power and splendor; and, under their administration, the Spanish cali-

phate was the seat of literature, science, and commerce.*

Before the commencement of the eleventh century, the Spanish caliphate began to exhibit symptoms of its approaching dissolution. The factious nobles and governors of provinces openly aimed at independency; and the Arabian empire in Spain, as well as in other countries, soon presented a picture similar to that of France and Germany on the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty. About the year 1038, the race of Abdurrahman being extinct, the Spanish caliphate expired. That splendid monarchy being dismembered by the great officers of the crown, and the governors of provinces, a number of petty kingdoms were formed out of its ruins. Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Grenada, Valencia, Saragossa, and almost all the principal cities became capitals of independent monarchies. While kingdoms were thus multiplied among both the Christians and Mahometans of Spain, it is easier to imagine than describe the condition of a country so circumstanced. Its history, indeed, during these tumultuous times, is only a confused chaos, exhibiting nothing but mutual animosities and jealousies, with all the crimes and calamities by which they are usually accompanied among a number of petty rival princes, actuated by ambition, and possessing little power. The two great parties of Christians and Mahometans were perpetually at variance; while both had their civil wars among themselves. During the space of 200 years, the history of Spain presents a continued series of wars, stratagems, treasons, and assas-

* For an accurate view of the Spanish caliphate, vide M. Cardonne's Hist. de l'Afrique and de l'Espagne, sous la domin. des Arabs, vol. 2.

sinations,

sinations, the natural consequences of its political circumstances. Amidst all these disadvantages, however, the Moors, possessing the most fertile parts of the country, and the finest maritime provinces, long carried on a flourishing commerce, and cultivated the useful and elegant arts. Many of the Spanish cities, even at this day, exhibit noble remains of Moorish magnificence.

The Christians, however, notwithstanding their intestine dissensions, pushed on their attacks against the Mahometans with all the ardour that religion, patriotism, and resentment for past injuries could inspire. They conducted all their operations with that daring resolution natural to men who had no other occupation than war, and who had nothing to lose. The quarrel was transmitted from generation to generation in hereditary descent, and by a perseverance of which history affords few examples, the Spanish Christians continually, though slowly, gained ground on their adversaries. As they made these conquests from the Mahometans at various periods, and under different leaders, each adventurous and successful chief formed into an independent state the territories which he had wrested from the common enemy. Both Christian and Moorish Spain, contained as many kingdoms as provinces; and in almost every city of note, a petty monarch established his throne, and displayed the ensigns of royalty. In proportion as the Mahometans lost gronnd, the Christian states were multiplied. Some of these, indeed, were so insignificant as scarcely to be noticed in history; but in process of time, by the usual events of intermarriages or conquest, all those inferior principalities were at length swallowed up in the more powerful kingdoms of Aragon and Castile.

Castile. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Christian Spain began to make a conspicuous figure among the nations of Europe. Alphonso, the wise king of Castile, whose reign began about A.D. 1252, made great and not unsuccessful efforts to raise his subjects from that state of barbarism in which they were immersed, and rendered his name famous in history by his patronage of the arts and sciences.

The Spaniards, indeed, had need of a philosophical monarch. During the long period of two centuries previous to his accession, Spain had exhibited a scene of bloody confusion which may have been equalled, but never exceeded in any part of the world. Besides near twenty kings, there were also many independent lords, who not being sufficiently powerful to support themselves in the station of sovereigns, came mounted on horseback, completely armed, attended by a number of squires; and, in the true style of military adventure, offered their services to the princes engaged in war. The kings and chieftains who engaged these lords, girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder.* These military adventurers, roaming about the kingdom, and fighting for those who were willing to employ them, became distinguished by the name of knights-errant: such was the origin of an order of men, whose romantic exploits have been celebrated by the historians and poets of Spain, and justly ridiculed by the satirical pen of Cervantes. Of all these knights, Don Roderigo, surnamed the Cid, so celebrated by the pen of Corneille, distinguished himself the most eminently against the Mahometans.*

* Russel's Hist. Mod. Europe, vol. 1, Lett. 34, p. 386.

† Le Cid de Corneille.

So

So great was his fame, that several other knights ranged themselves under his banner, and with their squires and horsemen composed an army completely covered with iron, and mounted on the best and most beautiful horses of the country. With this force he defeated several Moorish kings, and bore a conspicuous part in the siege of Toledo, to which his reputation attracted knights and princes from France and Italy. After a siege of twelve months, in which many bloody conflicts took place, Toledo surrendered to the Christians by capitulation, A.D. 1085. The articles of this capitulation secured to the Moors the protection of their persons and property; their religion and laws.* In the same year the Cid took possession of all Castile in the name of king Alphonso, his master; and Madrid, the present capital of Spain, but then no better than a village, fell into the hands of the Christians. He afterwards conquered the kingdom of Valencia; but though he exceeded most of the Spanish kings in power, and all of them in fame, he continued faithful to his sovereign, Alphonso, and never assumed the regal title.

Had either the Moors or the Christians combined their forces, such an union would have rendered either party greatlyan over-match for the other. But both were harrassed by civil wars and dissensions, which retarded their operations, and protracted the contest. In the year 1212, however, the Spanish affairs put on a more serious aspect. The Moors having called in to their assistance Mahomet Ben Joseph, the most powerful of the African princes, that monarch passed over into Europe with an army of near 100,000 men. Being

* Mariana.—Ferreras.—See also the Chronicle of the Cid, lately published in English by Mr. Southey.

joined

joined by the Moors of Spain, he assured himself of the conquest of the whole country; and, indeed, the event did not seem improbable. In this critical emergency, the Spanish kings, impelled by the common danger, united their forces, and the attention of all Europe being excited by this vast African armament, numbers of military adventurers poured in from all quarters. A decisive engagement took place in the province of Toledo.* Alphonsus, king of Castile, commanded the Christian army, attended by the Archbishop of Toledo, who carried the cross. The African monarch, carrying in one hand his sabre, and in the other the Koran, commanded the Moors. The battle was long and obstinate; but the Christians, at length, gained a complete victory. As most of the knights returned home after this battle, and the greatest part of the Christian forces immediately dispersed, the victory was not improved, nor were its consequences important. The Moors, at the same time being harrassed by civil dissensions, were unable to repair their loss by taking advantage of the negligence of their enemies. All the Moorish states, both in Spain and Africa, were rent in pieces by intestine commotions; the banners of rebellion were constantly displayed, and new sovereigns sprang up in continual succession. The affairs of the Mahometans now began rapidly to decline. In 1236, Ferdinand III, styled by the Spaniards St. Ferdinand, captured the city of Cordova, formerly the residence of Abdurrahman, and the Spanish caliphs, his successors, and about twelve years afterwards he reduced Seville and the whole province of Murcia.*

* Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hisp. ap. Russel.—Hist. Mod Europe, vol. 1, p. 390.

† Id. ap. Russel, ubi supra.

Towards

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Christian Spain began to make a conspicuous figure among the nations of Europe.

Alphonso the Astronomer, surnamed the Wise, having succeeded his father, Ferdinand III, in 1252, made great and not unsuccessful efforts, in order to raise his subjects from that state of ignorance in which they were immersed. He digested a code of excellent laws, and rendered his name famous in history by his patronage of the arts and sciences. The astronomical tables, drawn up under his inspection, bear his name, and do honour to his memory. The last days, however, of this excellent prince, were embittered by the rebellion of his son Sancho; and he found himself reduced to the hard necessity of leaguing with the Moors against his own family and his rebellious subjects, whom he subdued by the assistance of the Muramolin of Africa. But after his death Sancho succeeded to the crown, which he transmitted to his descendants; and his son, Ferdinand IV, in 1303, took Gibraltar from the Moors.*

The Christian kingdoms of Spain, being thus gradually exalted on the ruins of the Mahometan power, began, before the middle of the fourteenth century, to have, what in that age might be called a considerable trade and marine. And about the year 1350, the naval force of Castile appeared formidable to England. The Caracks of Spain, are described by the historians of that age, as floating castles; but they would certainly have made an insignificant figure by the side of a modern ship of war. The Spanish navy, however, was worsted by Edward III, king of England, who with fifty of his small ships, defeated

* Rymer's Fed. vol. 5, p. 679.

fifty

fifty-four Spanish caracks, of which he took twenty-six, and sunk several others.

The reign of Peter the Cruel, on account of its connection with the achievments of Edward the Black Prince, and with the affairs of France, has already been noticed, as well as his tragical death by the hand of Henry of Trastamara, who ascended the throne of Castile. Under this prince and his descendants, during the space of nearly a century, no events of importance took place. Wars were frequent, but indecisive, and Spain continued nearly in the same situation, from the death of Peter till the reign of Henry IV, king of Castile, whose irregular conduct produced a singular insurrection, which eventually occasioned the aggrandizement of the Spanish monarchy. This prince, who began his unfortunate reign in 1454, was totally enervated by his pleasures. His court exhibited a scene of the most abandoned licentiousness. The queen, a princess of Portugal, lived as openly with her gallants, as the king did with his mistresses. Every thing relating to government was neglected, and the affairs of the state fell daily into greater disorder, till at length the nobility, with the Archbishop of Toledo at their head, combining against Henry's weak and flagitious administration, tried and passed sentence on their sovereign, in a manner which, for its singularity, deserves to be noticed. The nobility being assembled at Avila, a theatre was erected in a plain, without the walls of the town, and an image, representing the king, was seated on a throne, and decorated with all the ensigns of royalty. The accusation against Henry was read, and the sentence of deposition pronounced in presence of the whole assembly. At the close of the first article of the

the charge, the Archbishop of Toledo advanced, and lowered the crown from the head of the royal pageant; at the close of the second, the Conde de Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the Conde de Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand; and at the close of the whole accusation, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga, tumbled it head long from the throne. At the conclusion of this extraordinary ceremony, Don Alphonso, brother of the deposed monarch, was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon.*

A civil war was the necessary consequence of this extraordinary procedure. The death of the young prince, on whom the nobles had conferred the kingdom, seemed for some time to disconcert their measures. It was necessary to appoint a successor, the choice fell on Isabella, the king's sister, and the war was carried on in her name. Henry at last purchased an ignominous peace, and retained the regal title on the hard condition of acknowledging his sister Isabella as lawful heiress of his crown, in prejudice to the right of his daughter Joan, whom the male-contents affirmed to be the offspring of a criminal correspondence between the queen and Don la Cueva. This important affair of the succession being settled, the next grand object was the marriage of the infanta Isabella, on which the security of the crown in a great measure depended. Several princes sought so advantageous an alliance, but the prospect of an union with a neighbouring state being wisely preferred before distant connections, Ferdinand, son of the king of Arragon, was chosen as the husband of Isabella, heiress of Castile. Henry was enraged at this alliance,

* Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 1. p. 179.—Mariana Hist. lib. 23, c. 9.

which

which, by furnishing his rebellious subjects with the support of a powerful neighbouring prince, evidently tended to annihilate the small remains of his authority. He disinherited his sister, and re-established the rights of his daughter. The names of Joan and Isabella, were every where the summons to arms, and a bloody civil war desolated the country. Peace was at length re-established. Henry, however, at his death, left a testamentary deed, transmitting the crown to his daughter, who was accordingly proclaimed Queen of Castile at Placentia. But the superior fortune and force of Ferdinand and Isabella, prevailed. After an ineffectual struggle, and some years of civil war, Joan sunk into a convent, instead of ascending a throne. The death of Ferdinand's father in 1479, added the kingdom of Arragon, as well as that of Sicily, to those of Castile and Leon, and Spain now began to stand high in the scale of European nations.

The confederate kingdoms of Ferdinand and Isabella, although in strict alliance, were not united. Each was governed by its own laws, and each of the two sovereigns had a separate council and administration. But they were inseparably united in their common interests, always acting on the same principles, and promoting the same ends. The constitution of the kingdom of Castile, was not essentially distinguished from those of other feudal monarchies, except in the power and privileges of the cities. The legislative authority resided in the Cortez, composed of the nobility, the dignified ecclesiastics, and the representatives of the cities. The executive part of the government was committed to the king, but with a prerogative extremely limited. The number of

members

members from cities, bore so considerable a proportion to the whole collective body, as gave them a powerful influence in the Cortez.

On the death of John I, in 1390, the council of regency, during the minority of his son, was composed of an equal number of nobles, and of members chosen by the cities. The latter were admitted to the same rank, and invested with the same powers as the prelates and grandees.* But although this elevation of the communities, so much above the condition in which they were placed in the other European kingdoms, and the political importance to which they had attained, rendered the feudal aristocracy unable to exclude them from a considerable share in the government; the nobles, however, continued to assert in a high tone the privileges of their order, in opposition to the royal prerogative. They watched with vigilance, and opposed with vigour, every measure of their kings, that tended to abridge their power or diminish their dignity. No body of nobility in Europe, was more distinguished for independence of spirit and haughtiness of deportment, than that of Castile. In their intercourse with their monarchs, the grandees preserved such a consciousness of their rank, that they claimed it as a privilege, and established it as a custom, to remain covered in the royal presence, and to approach the sovereign rather as equals than as subjects.†

The constitution of Arragon was greatly different from that of Castile, and indeed of every other in ancient or modern Europe. The form of the government was monarchical, but its genius and maxims were purely republican. The kings, who were long

* Mariana Hist. lib. 8, c. 15. † Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 1. p. 186.

 elective,

elective, had only the shadow of power; the exercise of it resided solely in the Cortez. This supreme assembly was composed of four orders, the nobility of the first and the second ranks, the representatives of the cities and towns, and the ecclesiastical order, consisting of the dignitaries of the church, and the representatives of the inferior clergy. In this great council of the nation, no law could pass without the assent of every single member. The Cortez alone had the supreme power of imposing taxes, of declaring war or concluding peace, of coining money or making any alteration in the current specie,* of reviewing the proceedings of all inferior courts, of inspecting every department of the administration, and of redressing all grievances. It was also the privilege of this assembly, not only to make the military levies, but also to nominate the commanders. And in 1503, when a body of troops was raised to be employed in Italy, the Cortez passed an act, empowering the king to appoint the officers.† This supreme council of Arragon was annually convoked until about the commencement of the fourteenth century, when its meetings were by a new regulation made triennial. The sittings continued forty days, and the king could neither dissolve nor prorogue it without its own consent.‡

But the most singular institution of the Arragonese government, was the election of a justira or supreme judge, a magistrate whose office bore a resemblance to that of the Ephori of ancient Sparta.§ This officer acted as the protector of the people, and the

* Ger. Martel ap. Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 1. p. 180.—Hier Blanca ap. Robertson, ibid.—Zurita Annal d'Arragon, tom 5, p. 274.

† Ibid. ‡ Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 1. p. 181. § Ibid. p. 182.

 comptroller

comptroller of the prince. His person was sacred, and his power was almost unlimited, not only in regulating the course of justice, but in superintending the administration of government. It was the prerogative of this magistrate to inspect the conduct of the sovereign, and he could, by his own sole authority, remove any of the ministers, and call them to account. But while every department of the administration was subject to the inspection and control of the justira, he himself was responsible only to the Cortez, to whom, however, he was obliged to give a rigorous account of his conduct.* This superior magistrate was always chosen from the class of Cavalleros, nearly answering to that of the gentlemen commoners of Great Britain; none of the Ricoshombres, or grandees, could be elected to the office of justira.

It is particularly worthy of observation, that the laws of Arragon were no less favorable to the personal rights of individuals, than to constitutional freedom. In criminal trials, conviction or acquittal could be determined only by evidence; and by a statute of 1335, it was expressly prohibited to put any subject to the torture.†

This circumstance alone is sufficient to give an exalted idea of the Arragonese legislature. The use of torture was, in that age, sanctioned by the laws of every other nation in Europe. Even in England, at present the land of freedom and of equitable laws, that diabolical mode of examination was not then unknown. From a comparison of the most authentic Spanish records, with those of other countries, it is evident that the rights of the people, personal as well

* Zureta Annal. d'Arragon, tom. 6. † Ibid, tom. 2.

 as

as political, were more extensive, more accurately defined, and better understood than in any other kingdom of Europe.* The other petty monarchies of Spain, while they existed, although they exhibited several circumstantial peculiarities, were modelled on the same fundamental principles as the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. In all of them, the aristocracy was almost independent of the crown: the immunities and power of the cities were considerable: the authority of the sovereign was too much limited.

Fedinand and Isabella finding themselves at the head of the two confederated monarchies of Spain, and free from domestic wars, resumed the undertaking which their predecessors had attempted with little success. The abilities and address of Ferdinand were such as qualified him extremely well for the task. The first and principal object of his policy was to reduce within more moderate bounds the overgrown power and exhorbitant pretensions of the nobles. For this purpose he used every means that his profound sagacity could devise, or his power carry into effect. Under various pretexts, and in consequence of decisions of the courts of law, he wrested from many of them a considerable part of their lands, as being extorted from weak monarchs, especially from Henry IV. his predecessor. He employed several persons of inferior extraction in different departments of the administration, and promoted to offices of honour and emolument commoners devoted to his interest.† The annexation of the grand masterships of the military orders of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, to the crown, was another expedient by

* Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 1. p. 418, note 32.

† Zurita Annal. d'Arragon, tom. 6.

which

which Ferdinand augmented his revenues as well as his power. These orders, like those of the Knights Templars and of St. John of Jerusalem, had been instituted for the purpose of waging perpetual war against the Moors. The order of St. Jago possessed eighty-four commanderies, and 200 priories, besides other benefices; and could bring into the field 1000 men at arms.* The grand master, who had the command of these troops, with the administration of such revenues, and the disposal of so many offices, was the person next in power to the king; and his influence was, indeed, formidable to the crown. The other two orders, though inferior to that of St. Jago in wealth and consequence, were very considerable. The government of these fraternities was in the disposal of their respective members, and Ferdinand, by a train of measures sagaciously planned and resolutely executed, prevailed on the knights of each order to confer the grand mastership on himself and Isabella.† This election was sanctioned by papal authority, and the annexation of these grand masterships to the crown was, in process of time, rendered perpetual.‡

In the grand enterprize of weakening the feudal system, and of abolishing the baronial jurisdictions, the peculiar circumstances of the kingdom of Arragon afforded to Ferdinand an advantage unknown in other countries. If Spain enjoyed more liberty, it was also the seat of greater disorders than any country of Europe. The incessant hostilities with the Moors, the want of discipline and subordination among the

* Anton. Nebrissensis, and Hen. de St. Marie Dissertations sur la Chevalrie ap. Robertson, vol. 1, p. 426, note 36.

† Marian. Hist. lib. 25, ch. 5.

‡ Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 1, p. 193.

troops, the frequent civil wars between the kings and the nobility, as well as those which the barons carried on against one another, had filled every province with violence and rapine. Troops of banditti ranged over every part of the country. Pillage and murder became so common, as wholly to interrupt commerce, and in a great measure to suspend all intercourse between the different cities. A Spanish historian of distinguished authenticity and eminence, gives such a description of the frequency of robbery, murder, and every kind of depredation and violence, in all the provinces of Spain, as excites an idea of the most ferocious state of anarchy.* The feudal lords exercised the authority of sovereigns, in their respective territories; but interior police was very little the object of their attention, and even had not that been the case, their administration of justice was too weak to put a stop to these disorders. In this tremendous state of internal confusion, self preservation impelled the cities to have recourse to an extraordinary remedy. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the cities of Arragon formed themselves into an association, distinguished by the name of San Hermandad, or the holy brotherhood. Each city paid a certain contribution to the common fund. With this they raised considerale bodies of troops, whose sole employment was the protection of travellers and the pursuit of robbers. They also appointed judges, and opened courts in different parts of the kingdom; but they confined their jurisdiction solely to violations of the public peace, all other cases being left to the ordinary course of legal decision. Whoever was guilty of robbery, murder, or any other act of violence, and

* Zurita Annal. d'Arragon, edition Françoise, tom. 1.

was

was seized by the troops of the brotherhood, was carried before their judges, who, without paying any regard to the exclusive jurisdiction which the lord of the place might claim, and who was sometimes the author or abettor of the injustice, proceeded to the trial and condemnation of the criminal. By this prompt and decisive administration of justice, social order was restored. The nobles had long murmured against this salutary institution, they complained of it as an encroachment on their baronial jurisdiction, which they considered as the most honourable distinction of their order, and repeatedly attempted to procure its abolition.* But Ferdinand and Isabella, sensible not only of the beneficial effects of the Hermandad, on the police of the country, but also of its tendency to abridge and gradually to annihilate the territorial jurisdiction of the nobles, supported the institution with the whole force of royal authority, and concerted their measures with such address as to procure its introduction into Castile. Thus, under the sole pretext of providing for the public safety, these sagacious sovereigns at the same time extended the royal prerogative.

The conduct of Ferdinand and Isabella in giving vigour to civil government, and securing their subjects from violence, was highly laudable. Happy would it have been for Spain, if all their measures had deserved similar praise. But unfortunately an intemperate zeal induced them to establish the infamous court of inquisition, an ecclesiastical tribunal, of which the proceedings are equally opposite to the dictates of religion and the principles of equity. While this infernal institution was calculated to depress and barbarise

* Zurita Annal. d'Arragon, tom. 4.

Spain, a concurrence of circumstances tended to the aggrandisement of that monarchy.

Since the conquest of the Moorish kingdoms of Cordova, Seville, and Saragossa, about the middle of the thirteenth century, the Mahometan power in Spain was restricted to the single kingdom of Granada. Sound policy, as well as religious zeal, impelled Ferdinand and Isabella to attempt its reduction; and every thing seemed to favour the project. The Moorish kingdom was a prey to intestine commotions, when, in 1483, Ferdinand, at the head of his troops, entered its territory. He carried on the war with rapid success, although he met with a vigorous opposition. Isabella accompanied him in several expeditions; and both were in great danger at the siege of Malaga. That important city, after a vigorous defence, was taken in 1487. Baça was two years after reduced, though not without great loss. The Moorish usurper Alzagal, who had dethroned his brother, Alboul Hassan, and had himself been expelled by his nephew, Abou-Abdallah, engaged in the service of the Christians, to whom he delivered up Guadix and Almeria.

Ferdinand and Isabella, having reduced every other place of importance in the kingdom, at last undertook the siege of Granada, the capital. The Moorish king, Abdallah, made a vigorous defence; but after sustaining a siege of eight months, was obliged to surrender the city by a capitulation, which secured for himself a decent revenue, and to the inhabitants the possession of their property, the use of their laws, and the exercise of their religion. It seems, however, that the Moors either experienced or apprehended the injustice of their conquerors. No fewer than 17,000 families are supposed to have retired to the opposite continent

continent of Africa, and from this emigration the piratical states of Barbary date their commencement. The city of Granada, at the time of its surrender to the Christians, was extremely opulent and flourishing, and is said to have contained 200,000 inhabitants.* Te deum was sung in St. Paul's Cathedral, at London, on occasion of this conquest of their Catholic Majesties, a title conferred by the Pope on Ferdinand and Isabella, and continued to their successors. Granada was taken in 1492. The reduction of this last Moorish kingdom in Spain occupied the arms of Castile and Arragon nearly nine years, before it was accomplished. Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after having subsisted during the space of almost eight centuries, of which, at least, 540 years, from 710, when their invasion took place, till the conquest of Seville by the Spaniards, had been a time of perpetual war between the two nations. It is said, that no fewer than 3700 battles were fought before the last Moorish kingdom was subdued. Making every allowance for the pompous style of the Spanish historians, it must be acknowledged that this was the longest and most determined national contest recorded in the annals of the world; and that, in recovering their country, the Spaniards displayed a vigour and perseverance, to which neither ancient nor modern history affords any parallel.

The conquest of Granada was followed by a measure of the most cruel and insane policy, the expulsion, or rather the pillage and banishment of the Jews. This gave a violent check to the commerce of Spain, which was almost entirely in the hands of these people. The injury done to the population of the

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 533.

country

country was also considerable. It is impossible to state the precise number of Jews, who, in one year, 1492, were expelled or massacred; but by the most moderate estimates it is generally fixed at about 800,000 persons.* Thus did the sanguinary policy and intolerant zeal of Ferdinand depopulate and impoverish Spain, and counterbalance the advantages arising from the re-union of all its provinces. About this time a treaty of marriage was concluded between Joanna, daughter and sole heiress of their Catholic Majesties, and Philip, Archduke of Austria, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and sovereign of the Netherlands. The year 1492, forms a memorable epoch in the history of Spain. In that year Granada was conquered, and America discovered. Never did a concurrence of more fortunate events mark the annals of any country. Providence afforded every means of aggrandizing the Spanish monarchy, had its rulers known how to make a right use of its blessings.

Isabella, Queen of Castile, died in 1504, and Joanna the heiress, wife of the Archduke Philip, being, in consequence of a melancholy disorder, rendered unfit for governing, she appointed Fedinand, her husband, regent of the kingdom, until the maturity of their grandson, Charles, afterwards the famous Charles V. She bequeathed to him at the same time half of the revenues arising from the recent discoveries, and the grand masterships of the three military orders, which, in Castile as well as in Arragon, had been annexed to the crown.† Isabella had, during her whole reign, enjoyed the love of her subjects, and her death was long and sincerely regretted. On many occasions her

* Brougham Col. Pol. vol. 1, book 1, sect. 3.

† Herreras Hist. tom 8.—Mariana Hist. lib. 28, cap. 11.

gentle

gentle disposition served to check the stern austerity of Ferdinand. If she joined too readily in the persecution of the Jews and the Moors, some allowance must be made for the spirit of the times. Wisdom and virtue were the distinguishing traits of her character, and her memory is celebrated by the Spanish historians in justly deserved encomiums.*

Joanna being immediately proclaimed Queen of Castile, Ferdinand, her father, assumed the regency. But his maxims of government having never been agreeable to the Castilians, a formidable party was formed against him; and, after employing in vain all the artifice and policy of which he was so consummate a master, he was at last obliged to resign the regency to his son-in-law, the archduke.† This prince, however, dying soon after, Ferdinand and the Emperor Maximilian became competitors for the regency, but the influence of Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who represented the propriety of chusing for regent a native prince of such experience as Ferdinand, in preference to a foreigner, determined the matter in his favour.

Ferdinand died in 1516, leaving his grandson, Charles V. sole heir of the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Castile, and Arragon. Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, was, by the will of Ferdinand, appointed sole regent of Castile, until the arrival of his grandson. This minister, whose character is equally illustrious and singular, was originally a friar of the Franciscan order, one of the most rigid

* Peter Martyr Ep. p. 279, ap. Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 1, book 1.

† Marian, lib. 28, ch. 19.—Zurita Annal. d'Arragon, tom. 6.

in

in the Roman church. He united to the punctilious devotion of a monk, the abilities of a consummate statesman, and even those of a military commander. In the reign of Fedinand, he conducted in person an army against the Moors of Barbary, where he reduced Oran and other places of importance, and annexed considerable conquests to the crown of Castile. His magnificent generosity on this occasion was still more extraordinary: he defrayed the whole expence of the expedition out of his archiepiscopal revenues. The cardinal, although, from his advanced age, he could not expect long to enjoy his authority, resolved to employ the short time of its continuance in depressing the power of the nobles.* Great as the attempt might seem, some circumstances in his situation promised him greater success than any of the kings of Castile could have expected. By a strict œconomy in the management of the vast revenues of his archbishoprick, he was master of more ready money than the crown could ever command, while his charity, munificence, and reputation, both for wisdom and sanctity, rendered him the idol of the people.

One of his first measures was to take into pay a good body of troops, with which he defeated every attempt to revolt, and reduced the Castilian grandees to acts of submission very mortifying to their haughty spirit. In the next place he issued orders to every city in Castile, requiring them to enrol and train to arms, on Sundays and holidays, a certain number of their inhabitants, promising at the same time, to such as enlisted in this militia, an exemption from all taxes. The necessity of having an armed force ready to repel

* Mariana Hist. lib. 29, ch. 18.

the

the incursions of the piratical Moors of Barbary, which now became frequent, furnished him with a plausible pretext for this rigorous measure.

The feudal nobility, however, soon began to perceive that the reduction of their power was his principal object. They excited the cities to refuse obedience to the minister's order, representing it as incompatible with their charters and privileges. The alarm was widely spread. Valladolid, Burgos, and several other cities rose in open rebellion; and some of the grandees declared themselves their protectors. Ximenes, however, continued firm and undaunted amidst the general convulsion, and partly by persuasion, partly by terror, brought all the refractory cities to compliance.* Having thus proved successful in reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles, he resolved to attack their immense possessions, by a resumption of the crown lands. The rights by which they were held were in many cases extremely defective, being often founded only on successful usurpation, which the crown had been too weak to oppose. But as these encroachments were almost coeval with the government itself, an enquiry carried back to their origin would have been impracticable, and, as it would have stripped every nobleman in Spain of a great part of his possessions, it must have excited a general revolt. The cardinal, therefore, who was not less prudent than enterprising, confined himself to the preceding reign, and at once resumed whatever had been alienated during that period. The effect of these revocations extended to many of the grandees of the highest rank; for Ferdinand and Isabella having been raised to the

* Gomarius and P. Mart. ap. Robert. Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2, book 1, p. 45.

throne

throne of Castile by a powerful faction of the nobles, had been obliged to reward their adherents by liberal alienations of the royal demesnes. The addition made to the revenue by these resumptions, enabled the cardinal not only to discharge the debts, which Ferdinand had incurred, and to remit considerable sums to Charles, but also to pay his new militia, and to establish magazines, more numerous and better furnished with warlike stores than Spain had ever before possessed.

The nobles, every day more alarmed, began seriously to think of providing for the security of their order. Desperate resolutions were formed, but before they proceded to extremities, they thought it requisite to examine the powers by which the cardinal archbishop exercised such high authority. The admiral of Castile, the Duke de Infantado, and the Conde de Benevento, three of the principal grandees were deputed for that purpose. The cardinal received them with civility, and shewed them the testament of Ferdinand, with its ratification by Charles. These not seeming to satisfy them, he used a more effectual mode of reasoning. Conducting them to a balcony, from whence they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, with a formidable train of artillery, "With these," said he, "I govern Castile; and with these I will govern it, until the king, your master and mine, shall come to take possession of the kingdom."* A declaration so bold and decisive silenced all opposition, and the cardinal maintained his authority.

On the arrival of Charles in Spain, Ximenes, hastening to the coast to receive his sovereign, fell dangerously ill of a disorder supposed to have been

* Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2, book 1, p. 48.

the

the effect of poison. This accident retarding his journey, he wrote to Charles with his usual boldness, advising him to dismiss his Flemish courtiers, whose numbers and influence already gave umbrage to the Spaniards, and earnestly requesting an interview that he might inform him of the state of the nation, and the temper of his subjects. This interview, however, both the Flemish and Spanish courtiers anxiously endeavoured to prevent, and they had the address to keep Charles constantly at a distance from Aranda, where the cardinal then was; Ximenes seeing himself neglected, did not bear this treatment with his usual fortitude. He had expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom more flourishing than it had ever been in any former age, and authority more extensive and better established than any of his ancestors had ever possessed. Conscious of his own merit, he could not refrain from giving vent sometimes to indignation and complaint. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities to which it would be exposed from the insolence, the repaciousness and the ignorance of foreigners, a prediction which has been but too fully accomplished. While the mind of this great man was contemplating so melancholy a prospect, he received a letter from Charles, genteelly dismissing him from his councils, under pretence of easing his age from that burthen which he had so ably sustained. He expired a few hours after experiencing this instance of ingratitude, and historians, ever fond of assigning causes for the death of illustrous personages, consider the reception of this letter as fatal to the minister.* But it is neither impossible nor improbable that an old man

* Robertson Hist Ch. V, vol. 2. Book 1. et auct. cit.

of

of eighty, who had for some time been dangerously ill, might have died, even if he had not been dismissed from the ministry.

Cardinal Ximenes was not only a great but an extraordinary man. Although honoured with a cardinal's hat, and promoted to the archbishoprick of Toledo, which, next to the papacy, is the richest ecclesiastical dignity in the Christian world, and also appointed to the regency of Castile, he preserved in a court the same austerity of manners that distinguished him in the cloyster. Although he displayed in public the magnificence becoming his station, he still retained his monastic severity, wearing under his pontifical robes, the coarse frock of St. Francis, and hair cloth instead of linen. In all his journies he travelled on foot, and always slept in his habit, most frequently on the ground or on boards, scarcely ever in a bed. Every day he celebrated mass in person, consecrated several hours to private devotion, and even allotted some time to study; he regularly attended the council, received and read all papers presented to him, dictated letters and instructions, and took under his own immediate inspection, all business, civil, ecclesiastical and military. Every moment of his time was filled up with serious employments; and even in extreme old age, his laborious assiduity in business appeared sufficient to exhaust the most youthful and vigorous constitution. His political abilities are universally acknowledged. His understanding was naturally penetrating and vigorous. His extensive genius formed vast and magnificent schemes. All his plans were bold and original, and all his measures decisive. He pursued every object with unremitted attention, and undaunted firmness. Accustomed from early youth to subdue his own passions, he shew-

ed little indulgence to those of others, and though free from every imputation of cruelty, all his conduct discovered a severe inflexibility of mind, and austerity of character. The variety, the grandeur and the success of his projects, during his short regency of twenty months, are proofs of his sagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, and his boldness in execution. To all these qualifications, he joined the rare merit of perfect disinterestedness: all his schemes had no other object than the good of his country. His reputation is still high in Spain, both for wisdom and sanctity: and he is the only prime minister mentioned in history whom the people reverenced as a saint.*

The loss of such a man as Cardinal Ximenes, would at any time have been a public misfortune; but it was peculiarly so at this juncture. Charles, young and inexperienced, was overruled by his Flemish courtiers, and wanted a bold and prudent minister, who equally zealous for the just prerogative of the crown and the rational liberties of the people, might have held with a steady hand the balance between the ambition of the prince, and the licentious turbulence of the subjects. The whole time of the king's stay in Spain, exhibited a scene of continual opposition between the court and the country, The partiality of Charles to his countrymen, the Flemings, first gave rise to the public disturbances. These foreigners were advanced to offices of trust and emolument, and they either engrossed or publicly sold all honours and benefices. They vied with one another in all the refinements of extortion and venality, and an historian of unbiassed veracity asserts, that in the course of ten months the

* Flechier Vie de Ximen. ap. Robertson vol. 2. p. 60.

Flemings remitted into the low countries, the enormous sum of 1,100,000 ducats.* The nomination of William de Croy, a young Fleming not of canonical age, to the archbishoprick of Toledo, exasperated the Spaniards still more than all these exactions. Both clergy and laity, regarded this elevation of a foreigner to the highest ecclesiastical dignity, and the richest benefice in the kingdom, as an injury and an insult to the whole nation. The Spaniards being thus incensed against the administration, resolved to oppose its, measures. Charles went from province to province assembling the Cortez, always demanding money, and constantly meeting with studied delay or positive refusal. The nobles did not display that spirit and resolution which formerly distinguished their order; but their want of vigour was sufficiently made up by the resolution of the commons. Toledo, Segovia, Seville, and several other cities entered into a confederacy for the preservation of their rights and privileges.

The election of Charles to the imperial dignity served only to increase the dissatisfaction of his Spanish subjects. How honourable soever it might be to the monarch, they considered it highly detrimental to the kingdom, which would be considered as a province, and be governed by a viceroy. They saw that their blood must be shed, and their treasures exhausted by wars, in which the nation had no concern, and that Spain would be inevitably plunged in the chaos of Italian and German politics. No sooner was it known that Charles intended to leave the kingdom than several cities of the first rank remonstrated against the measure. The king summoned the Cortez of Castile to

* P. Martyr Ep. ap. Robertson vol. 2. book 1. p. 58.—Miniana Cont Marian lib. 1. ch. 3.

meet at Compostella in Gallicia, not for the purpose of redressing grievances, but in order to obtain money. The temper of the nation, however, indicated a strong opposition to the court. Toledo sent deputies to protest against holding the Cortez in so distant a province. The representatives of Salamanca, on the same account, refused the oaths of allegiance; and those of Toro, Madrid, and Cordova, protested against any grant of money. At the same time, the inhabitants of Valencia excited by the sermons of a seditious monk, rose in arms and expelled the nobility. In the Cortez, however, the aristocratical party, jealous of that spirit of independence which they saw rising among the commons, favoured the pretentions of the court, and in contempt of the general sense of the nation, a donative was granted.* The Cortez, however, presented a petition for the redress of those grievances, of which all ranks of people complained. But Charles having obtained their money, paid little regard to their petition, and having appointed viceroys for the government of the kingdom, immediately departed for Germany.

The departure of the monarch was soon followed by a civil war, which deserves to be remarked as exhibiting the state of Spain in that age, and evincing the high notions of liberty which the Spaniards then entertained. No sooner was it known that the Cortez had granted money to the king, than an universal indignation was excited. The citizens of Toledo, who considered themselves as guardians of the rights of the Castilian commons, flew to arms, seized the gates of the city and attacked the al-cazar, or castle, which they soon obliged to surrender. They deprived of

* Sandoval Hist. Ch. V. p. 32, 33, 34.

all authority, every person who was suspected of attachment to the court, established a democratical goverment composed of deputies from the several parishes, and levied troops for their defence. The principal leader of the people was Don John de Padilla, a young nobleman of great courage, talents and ambition. The citizens of Segovia massacred Tordesillas, one of their representatives, who had voted for the pecuniary grant, and hung his body on the common gallows. Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities manifested the same spirit, and though their representatives had saved themselves by a timely flight they were hanged in effigy, their houses levelled with the ground, and their goods destroyed.*

Cardinal Adrian, of Utrecht, regent of Spain, who then resided at Valladolid, assembled the council in order to deliberate on the subject of these insurrections. The opinions of the members were for some time divided on the preference to be given to coercive or to conciliatory measures; but those of coercion were warmly supported by the archbishop of Granada, and finally adopted by the regent. Ronquillo, one of the king's judges, was sent with a body of troops to Segovia, in order to examine the affair; but the inhabitants instantly took arms and shut their gates. Ronquillo denounced them rebels and outlaws, and blockaded the city. But they defended themselves with great bravery, and reinforcements arriving from Toledo under the command of Padilla, the besiegers were obliged to retire with the loss of their baggage and military chest. Fonseca commander in chief of the forces of Castile, was then ordered to besiege Segovia in form. But for that purpose artillery was

* Sandoval Hist. Ch. V. p. 102. 103.

necessary

necessary, and in order to acquire a battering train, the general resolved to seize the town of Medina del Campo, where Cardinal Ximenes had established a vast magazine of military stores. His troops were repulsed by the inhabitants; but he found means to set fire to the town, which was almost totally consumed. Medina del Campo was then one of the most considerable towns in Spain, being the great mart for the manufactures of Segovia, and several other cities; and as the warehouses were then filled with goods for the approaching fair, the loss was extremely great and universally felt.* The impression which this loss made on the minds of the people, it is difficult to conceive. The citizens of Valladolid, whom the presence of the regent had hitherto restrained, flew to arms, burnt Fonseca's palace to the ground, elected new magistrates, levied troops, and made every preparation for war.

The commons of Castile, exasperated by injuries, had taken arms on the same principles and with the same general views, but yet without concert. Padilla and the other popular leaders resolved to improve these partial insurrections into a connected plan, by forming the insurgent cities into a regular association. For this purpose a general convention was held at Avila, to which the cities sent their deputies. They all bound themselves by a solemn oath to defend the rights of the commons, and assumed the name of the Holy Junta. They then declared the nomination of a foreigner to the regency illegal, and resolved to oblige the cardinal of Utrecht to resign the ensigns of his office. Soon after this resolution was taken, Don Padilla made himself master of

* Robertson Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2. book 3.

the person of Joanna, the king's mother, and placed her at the head of the government.* This enterprize was of great advantage to their cause, and gave an additional credit and power to the junta, who now seemed to act under the royal authority. The Castilians, who idolized the memory of Isabella, and retained a wonderful attachment to her daughter, believing her recovery compleat, ascribed it to a miraculous interposition of heaven in their favour. At first, indeed, she had shewed some symptoms of returning reason, but soon relapsed into her former melancholy. The junta, however, concealing as much as possible her infirmities, carried on all their deliberations and issued all their orders in her name. Don Padilla advancing to Valladolid, where he was received as the saviour of his country, deposed the regent, permitting him to reside as a private person in that city.† He then seized such members of the council as he found in that place, and conducted them to Tordesillas, where the Queen and the junta resided, carrying with him the seals of the kingdom, the public archives and the books of the treasury.

The kingdom of Valencia was, in the mean while, agitated by still more violent commotions. Before the king's departure from Spain, an association, called the Brotherhood, had been formed in that city, the members of which, under pretext of defending the coasts against the descents of pirates, had obtained the regal sanction. The grievances of which the Valencians complained, arose from the oppressive effects of the fendal system, rather than than from any unwarrantable exercise of the royal prerogative.‡

* Roberts's Hist. Ch. V. vol.2. book 3. on the authority of P. Mart, Alf. Ulloa, &c. † Sandoval p. 174. ‡ Robertson Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2. p. 263.

They

They turned their arms, therefore, chiefly against the nobles. They expelled them from most of the cities of that part of Spain, plundered their houses, devastated their territories, and assaulted their castles. Having elected thirteen persons, one from each company of tradesmen in Valencia, they committed to these the administration of government, with a charge to reform the laws and dispense impartial justice. The nobles being obliged to take arms in their own defence, hostilities were carried on between them and the commons with all the animosity that mutual injuries could inspire.

Charles, who was then in the Netherlands, where he received reiterated accounts of these transactions, was exceedingly alarmed, especially as he could not at this time return to Spain without endangering the imperial crown. Resolving to make trial of conciliatory measures, he issued circular letters to the cities of Castile, assuring them of a general pardon, on condition of laying down their arms and offering such concessions as would, without doubt, at an earlier period, have preserved the public tranquillity. At the same time, he wrote to the nobles exciting them to assert with vigour their own rights and those of the crown, against the extravagant claims of the commons. The junta on the other hand prepared a remonstrance, divided into a number of articles relating to the different branches of the constitution, and the different departments of government, and containing a long enumeration, not only of grievances, but also of such new regulations as were thought necessary. All these were far too numerous to admit of the slightest mention in this place. As one of the grand objects of the junta was the total abolition of what still remained of the feudal sys-

 tem,

tem, it may not be amiss to observe that they required a revocation of all privileges, which the nobles had at any time obtained to the prejudice of the commons: that noblemen should not be appointed governors of cities or towns, and that the possessions of the nobility should be equally subject to taxation with those of the commons. A celebrated modern historian remarks, that "the principles of liberty seem to have been better understood at this period by the Castilians, than by any other people in Europe: they had acquired more liberal ideas of their own rights and privileges: they had formed more bold and generous sentiments concerning government, and discovered an extent of political knowledge, to which the English themselves did not attain until more than a century afterwards."* But in England those ideas and sentiments have, since that time, been progressive; in Spain, they have been retrograde, and were considered as extinguished until the recent occurrences exhibited proofs to the contrary.

Among the Castilians, however, the spirit of reform, emboldened by success, became too impetuous, and it seems to have been imprudent in the junta at once to attack the prerogative of the crown and the privileges of the nobility. While the commons confined their demand to the redress of such grievances as were occasioned by the king's inexperience, and the weakness or wickedness of his ministers, the nobles had favoured or at least connived at their proceedings, but when they saw a direct attack aimed at their privileges, they ranged themselves on the side of the crown. The members of the junta, who were commissioned to pre-

* Robert. Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2. book 3. p. 220.

sent

sent their remonstrance to the Emperor, and had for that purpose immediately set out for Germany, received on the road certain intelligence from court that they could not appear there without endangering their lives. The deputies therefore stopping short in their journey informed the junta of this circumstance. This intelligence exasperated the commons beyond the bounds of prudence or of moderation. They resolved to collect their whole force, and to exert themselves with vigour in opposing this combination of the crown and the aristocracy. They accordingly took the field with 20,000 men; but violent disputes arose concerning the choice of a commander. Don Padilla was the idol of the people and the soldiers, and the only person, whom they thought worthy of that honour. But several members of the junta being jealous of his popularity, the command was conferred on Don Pedro de Giron, eldest son of the Count de Uruena, and a grandee of the first order, who through a motive of private resentment against the emperor had joined the party of the commons. The troops of the regency were inferior in number to those of the junta, but greatly excelled them in discipline and valour; and the character of the generals were equally different. The Conde de Haro, commander of the royalists, was an officer of great experience and distinguished abilities: Don Pedro de Giron, general of the commons, soon gave a fatal proof of his deficiency in both these qualifications. By a series of injudicious manœuvres he suffered the enemy to surprize Tordesillas in the night, which was garrisoned only by a regiment of priests raised by the Bishop of Zamora.* Those holy warriors, however, made a desperate resistance; but about day break, the

* Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2. book 3.

Conde

Conde de Haro, carried the place by assault, made himself master of the Queen's person, took prisoner many members of junta and recovered the great seal with the other ensigns of royalty. After this fatal blow a general consternation seized the commons; and such of the nobles as had hitherto been fearful or wavering immediately joined the standard of the regency. Don Pedro de Giron was loudly accused of having betrayed Tordesillas to the royalists; and although the loss of that important place appears to have been owing to his misconduct, rather than to his treachery, he so entirely lost all credit with the commons, that he resigned his commission and retired in disgust.

In Valencia, the commons were equally unsuccessful. The emperor being fully occupied in suppressing the revolt of Castile, which more immediately threatened the subversion of the royal power and prerogative, left the nobles of Valencia to defend their own cause. During the space of two years, 1520 and 1521, the commons of that country carried on the war with greater perseverance and courage than could have been expected from troops composed of tradesmen and mechanics, and commanded by officers of the same description. The nobles were defeated in several actions, and repulsed in their assaults of different towns; but their superior skill in war often gave them the advantage. At length they were joined by a body of Castilian cavalry, which the regency sent to their assistance. With the help of this reinforcement, they entirely routed the Valencian brotherhood. The popular leaders were put to death with great cruelty, which indeed was only a just retaliation

taliation of their own conduct; and the ancient government of Valencia was re-established.*

The affair of Tordesillas had exceedingly disconcerted the commons of Castile. But at last they began to recover from their consternation, and fresh bodies of insurgents from all parts of the kingdom advanced towards Valladolid, where those members of the junta who had escaped from Tordesillas, had formed a kind of committee for the management of public affairs. Their army being thus recruited, Don Padilla was appointed commander in chief. His name revived the spirits of the troops, and seemed to make the whole party forget their late misfortunes.

In reviewing the enterprizes and transactions of those ages, one circumstance, which almost always strikes the mind of the observer, is the scarcity of money, when compared with the immense sums so easily raised in modern times. The deficiency of this necessary article was at that period severely felt in Spain. A great part of the current coin had been sent out of the kingdom by the Flemish courtiers whom Charles had brought with him from the Netherlands. Vast sums had been remitted by that monarch to Germany, in order to support his election to the empire; and the mines of America as yet afforded only scanty supplies. Both the regency and the commons were equally at a loss for the means of maintaining their troops. The royal treasury was exhausted, and all the sources of revenue were in the power of the insurgents. On the other hand, these resources were but small; the stated taxes were inconsiderable and daily decreasing, as commerce of

* Ferrer. Hist. lib. 8. p. 542, &c.

every

every kind was interrupted; and the junta were afraid of irritating the people by new impositions. In order to extricate themselves from this difficulty, both parties adopted decisive measures. The regency seized the queen's jewels and the plate belonging to the nobility, and obtained a trifling loan from Portugal.* On the other hand Donna Maria Pacheco, wife of Don Padilla, a woman of noble birth, great accomplishments, and enterprising ambition, formed the bold scheme of seizing the rich and magnificent ornaments of the cathedral of Toledo. This project she executed in person; and lest so daring an action should, by its appearance of impiety, give offence to the people, she walked to the church in solemn procession, with a train of attendants in mourning habits, and falling down on her knees, publickly implored the pardon of those saints whose sacred shrines the necessities of her country obliged her with reluctance to violate. By this artifice she screened herself from the imputation of sacrilege, demonstrated to the people her zeal for their cause, and raised a considerable supply of money for carrying on the war.

Fatal divisions, however, prevailed among the commons. The associated cities were actuated by mutual jealousies, arising from rivalship in grandeur or commerce. Burgos abandoned the confederacy; and some of the inferior cities exhibited symptoms of suspicious fidelity. The popular abilities of Don Padilla, their general, excited the envy and jealousy of many of the principal partizans, On the other hand the nobility, who, as well as the commons, were exasperated against the court, were extremely desirous of terminating the war, and made overtures of peace

* P. Mart. ap. Robertson, Hist. Ch. V, vol. 2. p. 226.

to

to the junta on terms that appeared not unreasonable.* Don Padilla in the mean while displaying considerable abilities as a general, his success contributed to precipitate his party into rash and inconsiderate measures. Rejecting at once all proposals for an accommodation, the junta declared their intention of stripping the nobles of all the crown lands which they or their ancestors had at any time usurped, and of annexing them to the royal domains, a measure which would have been nothing less than the confiscation of the estates of most of the noblemen in Spain, and must have rendered the crown absolute, when thus enriched with the spoils of the aristocracy.

While the junta were thus adopting rash measures, and threatening the total ruin of the nobility, Don Padilla, flushed with success, laid siege to Torrelobaton, a place of great strength and importance; and although it was defended by a sufficient garrison, and made a desperate resistance, he took it by storm after the royal army had in vain attempted its relief. The inconstancy of the junta, however, prevented him from turning this success to advantage. The dissentions which prevailed among its members, as is usually the case in popular assemblies, embarrassed their deliberations, and prevented them from coming to any prudent decision. Irresolution and mutual distrust appeared in all their proceedings. They again listened to overtures of peace, and even agreed to a suspension of arms. This negotiation, which, like the preceeding, terminated in nothing, proved a fatal check to Padilla's success. While it was carrying on, his army was weakened by desertion; and on the expi-

* The terms are too long for insertion, but they may be seen in Geddes's Tracts, vol. 1.

ration

ration of the truce, found himself unable to prevent the junction of the constable of Castile with the Conde de Haro. Finding himself too weak to hazard a battle, he attempted to retreat to Toro; but the Conde de Haro advanced so rapidly at the head of his cavalry, that he came up with him at Villalar and immediately attacked his fatigued and dispirited troops, who were soon thrown into confusion. Their general, Don Padilla, exerted himself with extraordinary courage and activity in order to rally them, but finding that impossible, and resolving not to survive his defeat, he rushed into the midst of the enemies ranks; and being dismounted and wounded was made prisoner, with most of his principal officers. The common soldiers, on throwing down their arms, were generously suffered to depart. The next day Don Padilla was condemned to death, and immediately led to execution, together with Don John Bravo, general of the Segovians, and Don Francis Maldonada, commander of the troops of Salamanca. He met his fate with that calm and undaunted fortitude which characterizes the Christian and the hero.*

This victory was decisive in its consequences. Valladolid opened its gates to the conquerors, and being treated with great lenity, the other associated cities successively followed the example, with the single exception of Toledo, which was animated by the presence of Donna Maria Pacheco Padilla, the general's widow, whose admirable qualifications gave her the same ascendency over the people as he had possessed. This extraordinary woman, instead of bewailing her husband with unavailing sorrow, immediately prepared to testify her respect for his memory by re-

* Robertson Hist. Charles V. vol. 2. book 3.

venging his death, and prosecuting the cause in defence of which he suffered. She used every artifice to inflame the minds of the populace. For this purpose she marched through the streets of Toledo with her son, a young child, being clad in deep mourning, having a standard carried before her on which was represented the manner of her husband's execution. She ordered crucifixes to be carried before the soldiers, in order to animate them with a religious zeal in their cause. By these means she kept the minds of the people in such perpetual agitation, as prevented their passions from subsiding, and rendered them insensible of the danger to which they were exposed in standing alone against the whole force of the monarchy. Indeed the prudence and vigour which she displayed on every occasion, fully justified that unbounded confidence with which she was honoured by the people. She levied troops, and exacted a great contribution from the clergy to defray the expence of keeping them on foot. She attempted, but in vain, by letters and emissaries to reanimate the courage of the other cities. The royal army was for some time employed in Navarre; but, as soon as the French were expelled from that province, it was ordered back into Castile, and Toledo was invested. Donna Maria now exerted all her courage and abilities: she defended the city with inflexible resolution, her troops repulsed the besiegers in several sallies, and no progress was made towards the reduction of the place until she lost the support of the clergy. On receiving information of the death of William de Croy, the Flemish archbishop of Toledo, whose possession of that see had been their principal grievance, and of the nomination of a Castilian for his successor, they immediately

immediately abandoned her party. They even persuaded the people that she transacted every thing by the force of enchantments; that a familiar dæmon suggested all her schemes and regulated her whole conduct. The credulous multitude, whose favour is always precarious, being weary of a long blockade, and despairing of any succour, grew extremely desirous of peace. They, therefore, took arms against her, and serrendered the city to the royalists. But even this reverse did not not subdue the intrepid courage of Donna Maria. She retired with a few resolute followers to the citadel, which she defended with astonishing fortitude four months longer; and, when reduced to the last extremity, she made her escape in disguise into Portugal, where she had many friends and relatives.* Her flight terminated the civil war: the citadel surrendered, and tranquillity was re-established in Castile.† Since this memorable insurrection of the commons of Castile; Spain, which was then the most limited, is gradually become one of the most absolute monarchies of Europe.

The emperor on his arrival in Spain, by shewing his clemency secured his authority. After a rebellion so general, scarcely twenty persons suffered capital punishment in Castile. By this judicious lenity, as also by carefully avoiding every thing which had disgusted the Castilians during his former residence among them, and by conforming to their manners and customs, he entirely conciliated their affections, and brought them to support him in all his enterprizes, with a zeal and valour to which he owed a great part

* Herrer. Hist. p. 8.

† Robertson, vol. 2, et auct. This article is mostly taken from Robertson.

of

of his success and grandeur. It would be useless to enter into a particular account of those wars, in which he was supported by the wealth and valour of Spain. What is most deserving of notice in relation to these affairs, is related in treating of Germany and France. With the history of those countries, that of Spain, in regard to her foreign politics, is from this period intimately connected. Those connections, however, were soon discovered to be ruinous to Spain; and at last the Castilians found themselves obliged to check their zeal and liberality, which could not keep pace with the necessities of the emperor. The year 1539, exhibited a proof to the world that Charles had prosecuted his ambitious designs to the utmost extent that his finances would permit. Large arrears were due to the troops, who had long been amused with vain hopes and promises. At last they broke out almost every where into open mutiny. The soldiers in the Milanese plundered the open country without control, and filled the capital with consternation. The garrison of the Golette, near Tunis, threatened to deliver that important fortress to Barbarossa. In Sicily, they proceeded to the greatest excesses: having expelled their officers, they elected others in their stead, defeated a considerable force which the viceroy had sent against them, took and pillaged several cities, and carried on their operations with all the regularity of concerted rebellion.

From these difficulties the emperor was fortunately extricated by the abilities and address of his generals, who, partly by borrowing money in their own name, or in that of their master, and partly by extorting large sums from the cities in their respective provinces, raised what was sufficient for discharging the arrears of

of the soldiers, and by those means quelled the insurrections.*

The emperor, in the mean while, had depended on the subsidies which he expected from his Spanish subjects; and for this purpose he assembled the Cortez of Castile at Toledo; and having represented to them the great expences of his military operations, and the immense debts in which he was involved, proposed to levy, by a general excise, such supplies as were adequate to the present exigency. Here, however, he met with an unexpected opposition. The Cortez complained that Spain was drained, not only of its wealth but also of its inhabitants, in prosecuting quarrels in which the kingdom had no interest, and in fighting battles from which it could derive no benefit; and they were determined not to add to these burdens by furnishing the emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprizes equally ruinous. The nobles, in particular, vehemently inveighed against the impost proposed, as an encroachment on the privileges of their order, which had always been exempted from the payment of taxes. The emperor employed arguments, intreaties, and promises, in order to overcome their obstinacy, and to obtain a supply of money; but finding all his endeavours unsuccessful, he dismissed the assembly with marks of the greatest indignation. From that period, neither the prelates nor the nobles have been called to the Cortez, their exclusion being grounded on this obvious principle, that those who pay no part of the public taxes ought not to claim any right to vote on the subject of laying them on. None have, therefore, been admitted to the Cortez but the representatives of eighteen cities.

* *Robertson*, Hist. Charles V. vol. 3. p.182.

These

These being in number thirty-six persons, two from each community, form an assembly, which in dignity and power bears no resemblance to the ancient cortez, and in all their determinations are absolutely at the disposal of the court.* The commons, in the years 1521 and 1522, carried to an extreme their resentment against the nobles, and, by threatening their total destruction, compelled them to support the royal prerogative with a zeal that proved equally fatal to both these orders. The nobles assisted the crown in depressing the commons, and then, being deprived of their support, were themselves, by Charles and his successors, brought under the absolute authority of the sovereign.

Charles, however, on this occasion received from the Spanish grandees at Toledo a variety of mortifying insults, which he thought it more prudent to dissemble than to resent. Their power was still great, and they displayed it with a peculiar kind of haughtiness; but the Cortez of Castile being reduced, as already observed, to an inferior kind of assembly, under the influence of the court, those of the other provinces became more tractable. When Charles, in 1543, assembled the Cortez of Arragon and Valencia, for the purpose of recognizing his son Philip as heir to those crowns, he found little difficulty in obtaining from them a liberal donative.† During the remainder of this reign, Spain shewed no mark of disaffection, but liberally contributed by its treasures and its arms to the aggrandizement of the monarch.‡

* St. Real Science du Gouvern. tom. 2.

† Herrer. vol. 9, p. 238, &c.

‡ The resignation and death of Charles V. will be found under the art. Germany.

Towards the end of the reign of Charles V. the house of Austria was in the zenith of its greatness. By the fortunate marriages of a long train of predecessors, the possessions of the ancient and powerful houses of Burgundy and Castile, were united to that of Austria in the person of this monarch, who himself had by arms, by negotiation, and by purchase, added the provinces of Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Gueldres, to his Burgundian dominions. He had also secured to Spain the quiet possession of Naples, which his grandfather Ferdinand had held with great difficulty, and united to his dominions the dutchy of Milan, one of the most fertile and populous of the Italian provinces; and besides all these he possessed the imperial dignity. But his vast possessions in Europe were of inconsiderable extent when compared with his acquisions in America, where immense empires, abounding with such inexhaustible veins of wealth as no other sovereign had ever possessed, were annexed to his crown; and the Philippine islands being discovered and conquered during his reign, he was the first monarch who could boast that the sun never set on his dominions. His brother Ferdinand was at the same time king of Bohemia and Hungary, and likewise in possession of Austria and its appendages.

Charles V. was succeeded by his son Philip II, one of the most tyrannical and obstinate princes that Providence in its wrath ever gave to a civilized nation. The principal events of his reign, the revolt of the low countries, and his fruitless attempt for the subjugation of England, are mentioned in their proper places.* It may here suffice to say, that his whole reign was a tissue of dark and intriguing policy.

* See Hist. View of England and Holland.

After exhausting his treasury, though supported by the mines of Mexico and Peru, he left his kingdom in a state of debility and decline, from which it has never recovered.

Philip II. died A.D. 1598, immediately after the treaty of Vervius had re-established peace between Spain and France. His character stands conspicuous in history, as that of a haughty, jealous, and inexorable tyrant. With great political talents, he has not acquired the reputation of a great prince. No European monarch ever possessed resources so greatly superior to those of his contemporaries. Besides his Spanish and Italian dominions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he possessed the whole commerce of India, and the rich mines of America. But all could not supply the demands of his obstinate and ruinous ambition. His bigotry and persecuting spirit, occasioned the loss of the Netherlands; and his long and expensive wars, in vainly attempting their recovery, with his prodigious armaments, and his contests with France and England, exhausted his treasures and enriched his enemies. During his reign, Spain began rapidly to decline. The people dazzled with the view of external splendor, and elated with romantic ideas of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures, and were soon obliged to depend on the industry of their neighbours, not only for the luxuries and conveniencies, but sometimes even for the necessaries of life. Spain became only the channel through which her American wealth flowed into other countries, and her merchants have since that time been little more than factors for the rest of Europe. The private character of Philip, merits an equal degree of reprobation with his maxims

 of

of government. His treatment of his wife, Isabella of France, and of Don Carlos his son and heir apparent of his crown, shews him to have been not less a tyrant to his family than to his subjects. He was accused by the Prince of Orange, in a public manifesto, of having poisoned his wife that he might marry Anne of Austria his niece. The truth or the falshood of this accusation, cannot now be ascertained, but it appears that he sacrified his son to his jealous policy. This affair, like those of Crispus the son of Constantine, and of the Czarowitz, son of Peter the Great, is enveloped in mystery; but it is said that the unfortunate Don Carlos, who was of a temper naturally rash and hasty, had taken the liberty of censuring his father's government, especially in regard to the Netherlands, and that he was suspected of a design of putting himself at the head of the insurgents. He was put under confinement, and although several princes interceded in his behalf, his father was inexorable. The unhappy prince was tried and condemned; and his death, which is said to have been effected by the administration of poison, almost immediately followed his sentence.*

Philip II. was succeeded by his son Philip III, who carried on the war in the Netherlands till 1609, when a truce of twelve years was concluded at the Hague. This prince, influenced by the same bigotry as his father, and advised by ministers equally wicked and weak, adopted a measure not less impolitic than cruel. He issued an edict ordering all the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom within the space of thirty days, under the penalty of death. Invidious reports were propagated against

* Thuan, lib. 43.—Famian. Strada de Bell. Belg. lib. 7.

those

those unfortunate people. It was rumoured that they intended to rise in rebellion, to call in foreign assistance, and to massacre all the old Christians. On such surmises, or under such pretexts, the king seized their property, and expelled them from their country. Those unhappy descendants of the conquerors of Spain, among whom the Jews were included; had been compelled to embrace the Catholic religion, and were distinguished by the name of new Christians. But as intolerant zeal arrogates to itself the Divine prerogative, and presumes to judge the heart of man, those unfortunate victims of tyrannical jealousy, were all represented as Mahometans or Jews in reality, although Catholics in outward profession. Several of them, however, were ecclesiastics, some of them even were in eminent stations, but no distinction was made. All such as were of the Moorish or Jewish race, were involved in one indiscriminate ruin. Priests were dragged from the altar, and judges from the bench. Many of them are said to have been drowned in the sea. Numbers were transported to the coast of Barbary, of whom scarcely a fourth part were able to preserve their miserable lives. These unhappy victims of injustice and oppression, having the double misfortune of being considered as infidels by the Christians, and as Christians by the infidels, met with cruelties and death in various shapes.

As no persecution was ever more cruel, none was ever more impolitic. Those proscribed people were the most industrious and valuable part of the community. From a view of the existing circumstances of Spain at that period, it does not appear that they could ever have been able to endanger the safety of the kingdom; and had they not been oppressed by

injustice and tyranny, it is as little probable that they would have sought to disturb its peace. But persecution impelled them to resistance. They elected a chief, and attempted to oppose the execution of the royal mandate, but being unprovided with arms, their reduction was easily effected,* and by this violent and impolitic measure, Spain lost near 1,000,000 of her most industrious inhabitants. The best informed writers agree, that by these various expulsions of the Moorish and Jewish race, between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 persons, on a moderate calculation, were lost to the monarchy, and as Spain was already depopulated by long and bloody wars, and by repeated emigrations to the new continent, as well as enervated by luxury, that kingdom sunk into a state of langour from which it has never yet recovered.

But the kings of Spain were ignorant of this great political truth, that a numerous and industrious commonalty constitutes the riches, the glory, and strength of a state. Philip III, a weak and impolitic prince, died in 1621. Philip IV, his son and successor, was of a more enterprising disposition; and his minister, the Count d'Olivarez, to political talents, joined a still greater ambition. His grand scheme was to raise the house of Austria to that absolute dominion in Europe, for which it had been so long struggling. In the prosecution of this bold plan, he resolved to maintain a strict alliance with the emperor, and to make him despotic in Germany, to subjugate the Italian powers, and to reduce the United Provinces as soon as the truce was expired. These plans, so great in theory, however, did not succeed in the ex-

* For a particular account of this iniquitous and impolitic transaction, see Geddes Expuls. Moresc. Collection of Tracts, vol. 1.

execution.

ecution. They plunged Spain into a bloody and destructive war against both France and the Netherlands, but Cardinal Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus, and Prince Maurice of Nassau, completely disconcerted these vast projects, and effectually humbled the house of Austria.* But the greatest misfortune of this monarch's reign, was the revolt of Portugal in 1640.† Peace was restored between Spain and the Netherlands in 1648, but the war between that kingdom and France was terminated only by the peace of the Pyrenées in 1659, after having continued thirty years, and in all probability it would have been of still longer duration, had not Cromwell, who then ruled England, been persuaded by Cardinal Mazarine to join his arms to those of France, in consequence of which Spain was obliged to sue for peace.

Philip IV. died in 1667, after a long reign of forty-six years, mostly spent in bloody and unsuccessful wars. He was succeeded by Charles II. his son, during whose reign nothing remarkable happened, except the uninteresting wars with France, which were generally to the disadvantage of Spain, and were terminated by the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Spain declined rapidly during this reign.

The death of Charles II. without issue in 1701, gave rise to that memorable contest, of which Spain and Flanders were the principal theatre. The various claims of the pretenders to the Spanish crown, are stated in the historical view of Germany. The result has also been related. The narrative of a war, so general, and so productive of incidents, would require several volumes; it suffices here to say, that

* See historical view of France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

† See historical view of Portugal.

the

the confederates were chiefly successful in Flanders. In Spain, victory was more fluctuating; the principal actions which took place in that kingdom, were the battle of Almanza in 1707, in which the French and Spaniards under the Duke of Berwick were completely victorious, while the allies lost 5000 killed and near 10,000 prisoners, with all their artillery, baggage, &c.; those of Almanara and Saragossa, where the Duke of Anjou's Spanish troops were totally defeated, and that of Villa Viciosa, in which the allies, although not conquerors, forced the enemy to retreat. In consequence of this fluctuation of success, the Archduke of Austria, and the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, were alternately proclaimed king at Madrid, by the names of Charles III. and Philip V. After almost every province of Spain had in turn been the theatre of war, this mighty contest, in which so many powers were engaged, terminated in the elevation of Philip V. to the throne.* Thus, in the year 1714, the Spanish monarchy was transferred from the house of Austria to that of Bourbon. The previous history of France and Spain, sufficiently demonstrates the advantages that both must necessarily have derived from this event. Instead of the bloody and almost incessant wars, which ever since the accession of Charles V. had exhausted the resources of the two kingdoms, they now became united in a family alliance that has seldom been interrupted, until the revolution of France gave a new turn to their politics.

The accession of the Bourbon family, however,

* For the particulars of these transactions, see Berwick's mem. 1. and 2. Mem. de Noailles, 2.—Mem. de Torey, 2.—Voltaire siecle de Louis XIV, ch. 17, 18, 19, 20.—Burnet, book 7.

although

although productive of many and great benefits to Spain, has been attended with one great disadvantage. In consequence of the family alliance, that kingdom has often been drawn into ruinous naval wars with England, by which its commerce and marine have greatly suffered, and its rich colonies have been frequently endangered.

Philip V. in 1734, having invaded Naples, placed his brother Don Carlos on the throne of that kingdom, and after a long and turbulent reign died in 1746. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand IV, a peaceable prince, who reformed many abuses, and endeavoured to promote the commerce and prosperity of his kingdom. This prince dying in 1759, was succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, king of Naples, who ascended the throne by the name of Charles III. He entered into an unsuccessful war with England, in which he lost the famous port of Havanna, which, however, was restored at the peace of 1763. In 1775 the Spanish ministry planned an expedition against Algiers, which had an unfortunate termination. The Spaniards, after landing 24,000 men near that city, were obliged to retreat with great loss. In 1783 and 1784, their attacks on Algiers were renewed by sea, but produced little effect. In the war between Great Britain and her American Colonies, Spain as well as France took an active part. Her principal enterprize was the unsuccessful attack on Gibraltar, in which it is difficult to say, whether the bravery and skill of the Spanish assailants, or of the British defenders, shone with the greatest lustre. The most important of her conquests was that of the island of Minorca, which its brave garrison, after a glorious defence under general Murray, was at last, through sickness, obliged

obliged to surrender, in spite of every effort of fortitude and skill. Charles III, in imitation of Peter the Great of Russia, but not with equal success, formed the hazardous project of obliging his subjects to lay aside their ancient dress and manners. He carried his endeavours, however, so far, that it occasioned such an insurrection in Madrid, as obliged him to dismiss the Marquis of Squillace, his minister, a circumstance which, among a great number of others recorded in history, shews, that despotism itself is under the necessity of paying some attention to the inclinations and prejudices of the people. Charles III. dying in 1788, after a reign of twenty-nine years, Charles IV. his son ascended the throne. The part which he took in the revolutionary war against France, with the subsequent peace and alliance concluded between this monarch and the French nation, have already been mentioned, as well as the wars in which Spain has at various times been engaged against England, and in which she has suffered great losses, compensated by few advantages.*

Some historical remarks on the progress of society, will be more interesting than a useless repetition of the unimportant particulars of fluctuating politics and indecisive campaigns. The eye of the reader is already fatigued with a view of those wars, which during so many centuries depopulated Spain, and afterwards, under the princes of the house of Austria, drained her of men and of money in prosecuting foreign quarrels, and supporting schemes of ambition. It would be happy if the history of her national improvement, presented a more pleasing picture. None such, however, is afforded. In taking a retrospective

* See historical views of England and France.

view

view of Spain, at the time of the conquest of Granada, when the subjection of the Moors, and the discovery of America concurred to open to the kingdoms governed by Ferdinand and Isabella, prospects so vast and magnificent, and followed by consequences so extraordinary, producing an influx of wealth unparalleled in the annals of the world, we feel ourselves obliged to confess, that Providence never afforded such advantages to any other nation. By a prudent attention of her government to internal affairs, instead of constantly involving itself in political intrigues, and indulging in mad projects of ambition, Spain might have been rendered the richest, the most flourishing, and the happiest nation in the world. It is certain, that the Moors had rich and important manufactures, and for that age a flourishing commerce. If history were totally silent on the subject, the splendid remains of Moorish magnificence, in those cities that were once the capitals of their different kingdoms, are evidences of their former wealth. It is also evident, that in states restricted to so narrow an extent of territory, no great degree of opulence could either be acquired or maintained, without a considerable trade. But the Spaniards were not a nation of manufacturers and traders, but of warriors; and it appears that in all the different kingdoms of Spain, which were gradually wrested from the Moors, the manufactures were chiefly carried on by the remains of the conquered people.*

In the fifteenth, and even in the sixteenth century, Spain had very considerable manufactures, and no small part of its excellent wool seems to have been wrought up in the kingdom. Toledo, Seville, Gra-

* And Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 37 and 48.

nada,

nada, and several other places, were famous for their manufactures of silk and wool.* These circumstances naturally recall the attention to the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, and point out that memorable instance of political error and moral injustice, as the death stroke of the Spanish trade. A succession of erroneous measures adopted by government has followed up the blow, and in concurrence with other circumstances, prevented the revival of that spirit of industry, which may experience a temporary check, but can scarcely suffer a final extinction from one single event, however disastrous. America unfolded her treasures in order to support the greatness of Spain, which domestic mismanagement was ruining at home; but even the resources of the new world could not counterbalance the pernicious effects of the impolitic measures of the court, and the want of industry among the people. No sooner did the rich productions of the Colonies begin to flow into Spain, than such restrictions were imposed on that trade, as might induce a supposition that the government had formed a systematic plan to prevent it from being beneficial to the kingdom. It has been the general policy of all European nations to confine to their own subjects the benefits of commercial intercourse with their colonies. But Spain carried this system of restriction much farther than any of her neighbours. When the first conquests were completed, and a trade with America was established, it was laid open to all the Castilian subjects, but under the injunction of bringing their cargoes into the port of Seville, under the penalties of confiscation and death. This restriction was soon after applied to the clearances out-

* Theorie et pratique de Comm.

ward, and all vessels freighted for the Colonies, were obliged to sail from, as well as return to that emporium of American commerce.* The consequence was, that the opulence of Seville rose to so high a pitch, that the influence of its wealthy inhabitants was able to prevent any new arrangement. The Guadalquiver becoming at last unfit for the navigation of large vessels, the monopoly, with all its attendant circumstances of exclusive accumulation, was, in 1720, transferred from Seville, to Cadiz. But the restrictive system proceeded still farther. The principal inhabitants of Seville being enriched by the monopoly, constantly endeavoured to confine it to a smaller number of individuals, and the wealth which they had already acquired, gave them an influence that rendered their efforts successful.

The great mercantile houses, possessing the exclusive privilege of supplying America with European commodities, would naturally desire that this supply should be as scanty as possible in order to keep up high prices. The crown, at the same time, levying its imposts, ad valorem, on the colonial trade, was likewise interested in confirming the extent of the exportation. The king drew as much revenue, and the merchants as much profit, from a scanty, as they could have drawn from a plentiful supply; and the latter saved a great deal of expence on the article of freightage. On these principles the whole trade between Spain and her colonies was regulated. The number of galleons for the supply of Terra Firma, Peru, and Chili, was limited to twenty-seven, which sailed once a year for Porto Bello. The flota destined for the supply of Mexico and the northern colonies,

* Brougham's Colon. Policy, vol. 1, book 1, sect. 3.

consisted

consisted of no more than about twenty-three ships, and it sailed only once in three years to Vera Cruz. No person was permitted to load any goods in either of these fleets, without a licence from the Board of Commerce at Seville; and the same regulation was observed in regard to landing colonial merchandise on their return. The same restrictive system was extended to the distribution of the supplies. The Colonies were prohibited under severe penalties, not only from holding any communication with foreigners, or with Spanish vessels not belonging to the periodical fleets, but even from trading with one another. Neither Peru nor Terra Firma could receive any supplies from Mexico, or from the islands. The Spanish and colonial merchants were permitted to meet only at the stated periods, and at three points of the continent, Carthagena, Porto Bello, and Vera Cruz, and at the Havanna, the general rendezvous of all the fleets, previous to their return.* These restrictions, with the heavy duties imposed by government, raised the price of commodities exported to, and imported from the colonies, to an exorbitant height; and introduced a system of smuggling, more regular and extensive, than ever existed in any other branch of commerce. In this contraband trade foreigners, colonists, and Spaniards, were mutually interested; but almost all its benefits ultimately centered in foreign nations. The English alone were at one period supposed to possess by this means as great a share of the colonial commerce of Spain, as the authorised traders of the mo-

* Brougham's Col. Pol. vol. 1, book 1, sect. 3. To Mr. Brougham I am indebted for the greatest part of this view of Spanish commerce. In some places I have borrowed his words, in order to express more clearly and fully his ideas.

ther-country.

ther-country. The monopolists of Seville, in consequence, found their profits greatly reduced by this competition of contraband traders: the revenue which the crown derived from the duties was proportionably diminished, and the great but fruitless expence incurred by government, in attempting to suppress this traffic, contributed to exhaust the finances, and impoverish the kingdom.

The consequences which this restrictive and monopolizing system was calculated to produce on the industry of Spain, is sufficiently obvious. The colonial trade, by its high profits, naturally tended to call into exertion the labour and skill of the people, and might perhaps have repaired the shock which the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews had given to national industry. But when the effects of the restrictive system began to be felt, a check was of course given to all the efforts which the colonial demand had begun to call forth. This check on industry at first excited, in concurrence with others, daily multiplied by the wants and the impolicy of the government, prevented that increase of Spanish supply, which the increasing demands of the growing colonies, in spite of all the endeavours of the monopolists, required. In consequence of this impolitic mismanagement of a commerce, which might have been beneficial beyond all calculation, the industry of the people was restrained, and Spain was at last obliged to enrich other nations by supplying her American empire with their commodities, and to content herself with the profits arising from commission, freight, and customs.

The internal regulations were not less calculated to impoverish the kingdom, and to check every species of industry. Almost all the taxes levied in Spain were of

of a ruinous nature; the expences of collecting them enormous; and the discretionary powers, vested in the collectors, extremely oppressive. The alcavala ycientos, a heavy duty on every contract of sale, whatever may be the nature or value of the commodity, is perhaps one of the most effectual methods of checking every species of industry, of cramping every branch of trade, of stunting the growth of national opulence, that political folly has ever devised. Catalonia and Arragon have, by the payment of a moderate composition, long since freed themselves from the alcavala; and the consequences of that arrangement may be perceived in the flourishing state of their manufactures and agriculture.* To all these checks on trade and industry, may be added the royal monopolies. These, indeed, are not peculiar to Spain; but in no other country, perhaps, are they so oppressive. The extent of the grievance may be calculated from the extent of its natural consequence, the contraband trade.†

A variety of other circumstances, appertaining to the financial policy and commercial regulations of Spain, which have a tendency to check the progress of manufactures and trade, might be enumerated; but these are the most obvious, and perhaps the most important. It is but justice, however, to say, that the princes of the house of Bourbon have gradually reformed many abuses, and greatly improved the state of the kingdom, in regard both to its internal and its colonial policy. In the year 1765, the trade of the West India Islands was laid open to most of the prin-

* Brougham's Col. Pol. vol. 1, book 1. p. 401.

† Townsend's Trav. vol. 2.—Bourgoign Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne vol. 2.—Brougham, vol. 1, p. 402, and the authorities to which he has referred.

cipal

cipal ports of Spain, and to all Spanish subjects. The next year the whole cotton trade of America was thrown open, free from duty, to Catalonia, and in 1772, to all the other provinces. The ordinance of 1765 was, in 1768, extended to the whole of South America, with various abatements on Spanish produce, on Spanish manufactures, and on colonial merchandise. And finally, in the year 1788, the trade of Mexico was laid open to all Spanish subjects; and the commercial affairs of Spain and her colonies, were placed on the same footing as those of other European nations.

The bloody and tumultuous scenes in which Spain had during so many centuries been involved, previous to the reign of Ferdinand, and the subsequent impolicy of the Austrian dynasty, had not so fatal an effect on letters as on commerce; or rather the national genius burst through all barriers. The literary history of this country, is too little known among foreigners. Alphonso X, King of Castile, already mentioned, was the glory and wonder of his age. Garcilassa ennobled Castilian poetry; and no writer, perhaps, was ever more honoured or encouraged than Lopez de Vega.* Spain can produce a splendid memorial of ancient genius, as well as of ancient grandeur.

Spain, after remaining more than two centuries in a debilitated state, owing to a weak and ineffective political system, and a government which has, during the space of fifteen years, been entirely under the direction of France, has at last begun to exhibit herself in a new and respectable form, worthy of the ancient Castilian spirit. The origin of this great and unexpected

* See Lord Holland's excellent account of the life and writings of Lopez de Vega, 1806.

 revolution,

revolution, on which the eyes of all Europe are turned, is at present involved in mysterious obscurity, in regard to particular facts; but all its prominent features bear the visible impression of French intrigue and influence. About the end of October, 1807, the Prince of Asturias was accused of a conspiracy against his father, the reigning monarch. The circumstance of its detection, as publicly related, appear too romantic to be worthy of credit. It was said that the king, having received information of the design, seized the prince, his son, in the royal apartment, and found upon him the cypher of his correspondence, containing the clearest evidence of the conspiracy. That the prince should bring with him, into his father's room, the documents of a parricidal conspiracy, appears somewhat mysterious, and has very much the form of a political contrivance. The papers were said to be found sewed up in the lining of his royal highness's coat; but amidst a mass of misrepresentation and criminal falsehood, little credit can be given to reports industriously circulated by the factions of a corrupt and intriguing court. The whole of this obscure transaction, however, so far as circumstances are known, warrant the suspicion of a scheme to entrap the Prince of Asturias, and to impose on the king for the purpose of destroying them both; and that suspicion is confirmed by the result.

While the court and city of Madrid were agitated by these dark and atrocious intrigues, the French, as friends and allies, under the pretext of invading Portugal, were marching their troops into Spain, securing the strong places, and taking such positions as were most favorable for controlling the natives. The Prince of Asturias, in the mean while undergoing a public examination,

amination, is said to have exculpated himself of any criminal design against his father's life or government. Affairs now seemed to be settled; but the calm was delusive, being only the prelude to an important revolution, which commenced in the following manner.

About the middle of March, 1808, a report began to prevail, that the King of Spain was about to retire to Mexico. This design appears to have originated with the Prince of Peace, whose motives, however, are not ascertained; but it seems that he perceived his administration to have become odious to the nation, and began to apprehend the downfal of his power. The intended emigration of the royal family being known, the city of Madrid presented, during the space of five or six days, a scene of confusion and turbulence. The court was then at Aranjuez; and the Spanish guards being ordered to march from Madrid to that place, were prevented by the populace. Hand bills were circulated, stating the danger to which the country was exposed; and crowds of peasants hurried to Aranjuez. The result of these commotions was, that the departure of the king was prevented: the palaces of the Prince of Peace, and of some other obnoxious ministers, were pillaged, and the furniture burnt in the streets. The prince made his escape, but was discovered and brought back a prisoner, and his brother Don Diego Godoi, commandant of the king's body guards, was arrested by his own soldiers. On the 19th of March, his Catholic Majesty published a decree, by which he abdicated his throne in favour of his son, the Prince of Asturias, who assumed the name of Ferdinand VII, and on the following day, issued an order for the confiscation of the estates and goods of the Prince of Peace.

During these scenes of confusion, the royal family

 went

went to Bayonne, and the French emperor was silently taking possession of Spain. His first public act of authority was to annul the proceedings of the 19th of March, by obliging Ferdinand VII. to resign, and replacing Charles IV. on the throne. The news of this counter-revolution was no sooner received at Madrid, than all was in commotion. On the second of May the insurrection of the populace became general; and the Duke of Berg, who commanded the French troops in the capital, narrowly escaped with his life. The possession of the arsenal was one of the principal objects of the insurgents; and many of them fell in the attempt. At length, however, the artillery with grape shot cleared the streets; and tranquillity was restored in the city. The number, which fell on each side, is very uncertain, as little reliance can be had on the common accounts. On the following day, a military commission was appointed for the trying the prisoners taken in arms, and about 130 were doomed to immediate execution.

All these court intrigues and popular commotions were only preliminaries to a more important revolution. The royal family of Spain, with many of the grandees of the court, being at Bayonne, and wholly in the power of the French emperor, the two kings, Charles IV, and Ferdinand VII, were compelled to abdicate the throne, and the infants, Don Carlos and Don Antonio, at the same time renounced all their rights of succession. These abdications and renunciations were declared to be voluntary; but Spain and all Europe justly regarded them as the effects of compulsion.* It is even said, that the queen was prevailed on to declare the Prince of Asturias illegiti-

* The act of renunciation of the Prince of Asturias, &c. bears date the 10th of May, 1808.

mate

mate, an expedient which had doubtless been devised for the purpose of counteracting the sentiments of the Spanish nation in his favour. Thus the Emperor of the French, by a train of the most perfidious policy, carried on under the mask of alliance and friendship, subverted the throne of the Bourbons in Spain; and, having appointed the Duke of Berg lieutenant-general of the kingdom, conferred the crown on his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, whom he had already made King of Naples. An imperial decree was then issued, commanding the bishops, the grandees, and the deputies of provinces, to repair to Bayonne, in order to fix the basis of the new government. This decree of the French emperor was communicated by the Duke of Berg to the Supreme Council of Castile, but with little effect; and only a few of the persons summoned attended the assembly at Bayonne.

The news of the forced renunciation of the crown by all the royal family, proved the signal of universal opposition to the views of France. The province of Asturias, famous for the final stand which the Spanish nation made in that mountainous region against the conquering Arabs in the eighth century, was instantly in a state of insurrection, and the flame was immediately communicated to Gallicia and to several districts of Leon. The general assembly at Oviedo nominated the Marquis of Santa Cruz general of the patriotic army, and sent Viscount Materosa, a nobleman of considerable influence, on a deputation to England for the purpose of requesting assistance. On his arrival at London, the affair was laid before the British cabinet, which came to a prompt determination to support the Spanish patriots against the injus-

 tice

tice and tyranny of France.* The council of Seville, at the same time, rejecting the orders of the Supreme Council of Madrid as being under the control of foreigners, assumed an authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. and having declared war against the French emperor, armed the inhabitants of Andalusia, and appointed General Castanos commander in chief. The spirit of resistance manifested itself in all the provinces almost at the same period, and the insurrection soon became general throughout Spain. Among others, the wealthy and populous city of Cadiz manifested the most noble and patriotic spirit: the French fleet in the harbour, after sustaining a cannonade from all the batteries, while Admiral Collingwood with a British squadron blockaded the port, was at length obliged to surrender on the 14th of June to the Spaniards. This signal success was followed by many other important advantages. On the 28th June, the French general Moncey made a desperate attack on Valencia, but was bravely repulsed by the inhabitants without the assistance of regular troops. History scarcely records an example of greater heroism than the Valencians displayed on this occasion: the clergy of every description took arms, and even the women contributed to the defence of the city. Not less than 2500 of the assailants are said to have been found dead round the walls. The French army being attacked in its retreat by the patriots under Generals Cerbellion and Caro, was almost totally annihilated. In the public accounts of these transactions, we may reasonably suppose some exaggeration; but whatever degree of doubt may be admitted in regard to particu-

* The pacification between Great Britain was announced by a proclamation of his Britannic Majesty, dated July 4th, 1808.

lars, the general result is certain, that the French were expelled from the provinces of Valencia and Mercia. Saragossa, the capital of Arragon, rivalled Valencia in patriotic enthusiasm. That city, one of the strongest and most considerable in the kingdom, was attacked by General Le Febre, with an army of near 18,000 men; but after two desperate assaults in the night of the 1st, and the morning of the 2nd of July, the French were completely repulsed with prodigious loss by the brave General Palafox, who has given repeated proofs of his heroism.

In one particular quarter the Spaniards were unsuccessful. Their patriotic army under General Cuesta consisting of about 14,000 men, of whom 800 were horse, with 26 pieces of cannon, and aided by a body of peasantry was defeated near Benevento on the 14th of July, by General Lasolles, at the head of 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. The victory, however, was bravely contested, and the loss on both sides was considerable.

The check which the Spaniards received in this action was greatly overbalanced by their successes at Saragossa and in the southern provinces. On the same day that was marked by the defeat of the patriots near Benevento, General Le Febre having been reinforced by 4000 men from the garrison of Pampeluna, which augmented his force to about 15,000, made another desperate attack on Saragossa, but was again repulsed.

In the mean while Dupont, one of Napoleon's favorite generals, who, in the commencement of the insurrection had been detached from Madrid for the purpose of overawing the southern provinces, being informed that Seville, Carthagena, and Cadiz, had de-

clared for Ferdinand VII. found it necessary to abandon Cordova, and took a strong position on the heights Andujar, where he was completely inclosed by the patriotic army under General Castanos. The Spanish commander receiving intelligence of a detachment of 8000 French advancing from Madrid, resolved to attack Dupont before the arrival of this reinforcement. This memorable engagement took place on the 20th of July, a day glorious to Spain. The victory was obstinately contested; but at length the patriots prevailed. The French were defeated with prodigious loss; and Dupont, in order to avoid complete destruction, surrendered himself and his whole army prisoners of war. The detachment that was advancing from Madrid, and had no possibility of retreat, was included in the capitulation, only with this difference, that these troops should not remain prisoners, but be permitted to return by sea to France. Thus in one day 12,000 of the French were killed or made prisoners, and 8000 more expelled from Spain.

While the insurrection was making so rapid a progress, Joseph Buonaparté, the newly created king, entered Spain, and by a singular coincidence arrived at Madrid on the 20th of July, the day on which General Dupont surrendered to the Andalusian patriots. The entrance of the new monarch into the capital, was accompanied by illuminations and other compulsory demonstrations of joy, which power can always extort from the subjects of its oppression. In those brilliant moments, perhaps, he little apprehended the shortness of his reign. But the illusion was soon dispelled; the news of the surrender of Dupont's army, of the disasterous events of Valencia

and

and Saragossa, of the successes of the insurgents in other parts of the kingdom, and above all, the march of the Andalusian army towards Madrid, dissipated his dream of royalty. On the 27th of July, the new sovereign, after plundering the royal palace, began his retreat from the capital, and retired towards the frontiers. All the different corps of the French army in Spain, except those in the citadel of Barcelona, were at this time in motion towards the north, and after one of their divisions had been totally defeated by general Blake on the first of August, between Astarga and Rio Seco, they began to concentrate their force in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, and on the banks of the Ebro.

The war at this period presented an awful pause The patriots made the most active preparations for completing the expulsion of the enemy, while immense armies of veterans were moving through France towards the Pyrenées. As all the Spanish colonies have declared in favour of the parent country, it requires no superior sagacity to discover the impolicy, as well as the perfidy of the French emperor's conduct. If the Spaniards succeed in the contest, he has converted a valuable ally into a determined enemy; but if he should conquer Spain, he cannot subjugate the colonies. They will undoubtedly assume independence, and the Buonapartean family can never reign over more than a comparatively small part of the Spanish empire.

CHAP. IV.

Present State, political and moral — Religion — Government — Laws — Army — Navy — Revenues — Commerce — Manufactures — Population — Political importance and relations — Language — Literature — Polite Arts — Education — Manners and Customs — National Character.

Religion.]—THE religion of Spain is the Roman Catholic, which in this country has been carried to a degree of bigotry and intolerance unknown in any other country, except Portugal. In these two kingdoms, the inquisition has long reigned in all its horrors; and an institution so opposite to the benevolent spirit of Christianity, has produced the most ruinous effects. This tremendous evil, however, has of late been greatly diminished. The inquisition, although not abrogated, is now laid under so many restrictions, as render its operation nearly ineffectual, and its power little more than nominal. From various circumstances, indeed, there is reason to expect that this infamous tribunal will, at no very distant period, be totally abolished.

Hierarchy.]—The archbishoprics in Spain are eight, and the bishoprics forty-six. The whole number of clergy used to be computed at 200,000, but by the returns made to government, it is found to amount only to 188,625; of these are 61,617 monks, and 32,500 nuns.*

Government.]—The government of Spain, formerly

* Zimmermann, p. 321.

the

the most limited of any monarchical system in Europe, has, ever since the reign of Charles V, been despotic. In this, however, as in all other countries, despotism is balanced by various powers, and tempered by several councils; but all of them, according to the present constitution, under the absolute control of the monarch. The royal council of the Indies, is a distinguishing feature in the Spanish administration. It consists of a governor, four secretaries, and about twenty-two counsellors, besides several officers. The members are generally chosen from among the viceroys and other magistrates, who have served in America, and their decision is final in regard to every thing relating to the colonies; so that the government of Spanish America may be said to form a particular system. It is not improbable but that the present revolution, if successful, may lead to an important change in the constitution and government of the country.

Laws.]—The civil and canon laws, together with several ancient codes, compose the body of Spanish jurisprudence. Their lawyers and magistrates are numerous, but instead of promoting, they frequently impede the administration of justice. The system of law and police, has always been worse in Spain, than in any other nation of modern Europe. In no part is the security of person and property less firmly established, the privileges of municipal magistrates more extensive, or more injurious to the public; the corruption of the officers of justice more frequent, or the criminal laws so carelessly executed. In no part of Europe are the roads more infested with robbers. All travellers have noticed the dangers of the

the roads, and all writers, native and foreign, agree in their representation of the bad police of Spain.*

Army.]—The Spanish armies, about two centuries ago, carried victory and terror into every country in which they displayed their banners. Previous to the late insurrections, although their native valour may remain, they had ceased to be formidable, either by numbers or discipline. In time of peace, the military force was estimated at about 60,000; but it is difficult to calculate to what number it might be augmented in case of emergency, as recent events have proved. Spain is a country in which soldiers might easily be raised.

Navy.]—The navy of Spain was once no less formidable than her army, but it afterwards fell to decay, and was almost annihilated by successive wars with the English, the Dutch, and the French. Of late the Spanish government has paid great attention to its marine. It has, however, suffered extremely in the late and present wars with the English, and at present its strength cannot be well ascertained. Had Spain continued at peace with Great Britain, her naval power would, next to the English, have undoubtedly been at this time the greatest in Europe.

Revenue.]—The revenue of Spain has been variously calculated. By some it has been estimated at about 5,500,000*l.* and by others at 7,000,000*l.* sterling; but we have no certain information on the subject. Several good judges are of opinion, that the crown derives no direct revenue from the colonies, the whole being expended in the government of those distant regions. But all our information on the sub-

* Brougham's Colon. Policy, vol. 1, p. 410. Link's Trav. 120, 123, 124.

ject is too defective and too contradictory to authorise any conclusion. It is certain that the sums raised on Spain, by taxation, are not very great; but yet the injudicious mode of imposing and collecting the taxes, in concurrence with other impolitic measures, have been ruinous to the kingdom.* The views of the Bourbon princes, however, have been invariably directed towards ameliorating, by slow degress, the pernicious system of administration established by the Austrian dynasty. The beneficial effects of the late regulations are already perceptible, and in time will be still more conspicuous. The national debt is inconsiderable.

Commerce.]—In regard to geographical situation and natural advantages, no country can be better adapted to commerce than Spain; and as it has been shewed in the last chapter, nothing but the most impolitic government that ever existed, that of *Philip II*. and his immediate successors, could have ruined a trade that was once so flourishing. At present, Spain exports wines, oil, fruits, silk, and leather, with a little broad-cloth, and various other articles, to different countries of Europe. But her principal trade is with her American colonies; although she is supposed to gain little by that intercourse; for the gold and silver imported from America, immediately goes to those nations which supply Spain with the manufactured goods, in which she makes her returns. An exhibition of the exports and imports, for the year 1784, from Mr. Townsend, will give a more distinct view of the trade of Spain with America, than any other documents that can be procured, a consideration

* Brougham Colcn. Pol. vol. 1, p. 338, 339, 400. For a more distinct account of Spanish taxation Townsend's Tables.

which

which authorises its insertion here, although already exhibited in a late geographical work.

Exports from	*Spanish produce.*	*Foreign produce.*
Cadiz	1438,918	2,182,531
Malaga	196,379	14,301
Seville	62,713	30,543
Barcelona . . .	122,631	21,240
Corunna	64,575	39,962
San Andero . . .	36,715	90,173
Tortosa	7,669	289
Canaries	24,974	——
Gijon	4,281	10,190
	1,958,849	2,389,229

Imports from America to Spain.

	In money and jewels.	*In merchandise.*
Cadiz	8,297,164	2,990,757
Malaga	——	18,605
Barcelona . . .	102,140	91,233
Corunna	741,283	90,001
Sant Andero . . .	40,843	100,974
Canaries	109,807	52,366
	9,291,237	3,343,936

The customs on this trade amounted to more than half a million. The greatest part of the native exports are wines, and other raw productions of the country, but almost all the foreign produce sent to America consists of manufactured goods.

Manufactures.]—The manufactures of Spain, once so celebrated, have declined still more than her foreign trade. Government, of late, have strenuously endeavoured to promote their revival; but they are considerably checked by the royal monopolies, which extend

extend to the following articles: cards, at Madrid and Malaga; tapestry, at Madrid; saltpetre, at Madrid, and several other places; china, at Buen Retiro; glass, at St. Ildefonso; swords, &c. at Toledo; broad-cloth, at Guadalajara and Brihuega; paper, at Segovia; pottery and tissue, at Talavera; and stockings, at Valdemoro. The crown has also the monopoly of gunpowder, lead, quicksilver, salt, sulphur, sealing-wax, brandy, and tobacco. As no private capital can be able to vie with the treasury, all royal manufactures may be regarded as monopolies. Some of these, particularly such as the great manufacture of glass, at Ildefonso, is scarcely adapted to a private capital, especially in a country where a manufacturing system is but partially established, where the middling classes are, in general, far from being opulent, and where commerce is despised by the great. In such a country, royal manufactures have a tendency to bring commerce into repute, by setting a laudable example of industrious speculation. But it does not appear that in Spain they have produced that effect. Several manufactures, however, have of late been carried on with great spirit, and any failure must be imputed rather to other causes than to the indolence of the people.

Spain excels in several materials for a grand manufacturing system. Her wool is the finest in the world, and her iron is excellent and plentiful; Spain also surpasses all other countries in the exuberant production of saltpetre and Barilla.

Population.]—The population of Spain is computed at 10,000,000 or 11,000,000. The greater of these numbers amounts to only seventy-four per square mile.

mile.* This striking defect of population has deservedly excited attention, and been made the subject of repeated investigation. The causes which are generally assigned are, the incessant wars carried on, during the space of seven centuries, against the Moors, the great plague, which, about the middle of the fourteenth century, made such havoc throughout Europe, and was particularly destructive in Italy and Spain, the contagious fevers, frequent in the southern provinces, the expulsion of the Jews, after the conquest of Granada, and of the Moors, by Philip III. the emigrations to America, the numerous clergy, and the rooted habits, which the Spanish gentry have adopted, of crowding into towns, instead of spreading themselves over the country. Each of these would require a separate dissertation. That the long continued wars, the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, the epidemical sickness of the southern provinces, and the plague of 1348, were severe checks to population cannot be denied. Italy and other countries, however, have long ago recovered from the depopulation caused by that pestilence. But in Spain that calamity prepared the way for political evils, which have ever since been severely felt. Two-thirds of the whole population were suddenly swept away, and many of the villages being left totally destitute of inhabitants, the survivors in others, obtained possession of vast tracts of waste land.† The grounds of several villages and towns were united in one domain, and became a public pasture. Hence proceeds the great extent

* Townsend's Travels, vol. 3. p. 131. The population of England is reckoned at 169, of France at 174, and of the Batavian kingdom about 275 per square mile.

† Brougham's Col. Policy, vol. 1, p. 406.

of commons in most parts of Spain, by which that country is distinguished from all others in Europe. The grandees also obtained, at the same time, enormous grants of land; and these pernicious arrangements have proved a lasting obstacle to agriculture, and consequently to population. To this may also be added, the maesta, or sheep system, already mentioned. But the number of the clergy is a circumstance common to all Catholic countries, and less than three centuries ago, was so to all Europe. Several countries professing the same religion are at this day populous, opulent, and flourishing. The kingdom of Naples, which is not less attached to the Catholic religion than Spain, and in which the clergy compose as great a proportion of the people, is supposed to have 200 inhabitants per square mile, a population greatly superior to that of England, or any other country of Europe, except the kingdom of Batavia. Almost all writers, however, agree that the colonization of America has been fatal to the population of Spain; but a judicious author, by a masterly train of reasoning, combats this general theory, and labours to prove that not above 500,000 persons have, in the space of three centuries, emigrated from Spain to America, which is certainly no great shock to population. This writer ascribes all the misfortunes of Spain to the impolitic measures of her government, from the time of the conquest of Granada till the accession of the house of Bourbon. The decline of that kingdom, in regard to agriculture, commerce, and population, can be traced only in the events of its history.

Political importance and relations.]—The political importance of Spain was, at one period, seriously felt in

 almost

almost every region of the globe. But the ambition, the avarice, and the impolicy of her rulers, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, exhausted her immense resources, and annihilated her preponderating power. At present her political relations and interests are on the side of Great Britain, and promise to be of no small importance in checking the enormous power of the French empire.

Language.]—The Spanish language is a mixture of Latin, Gothic, and Arabic. It is grave, sonorous, and exquisitely melodious. No European language, unless we except the Portugueze, which is only a sister dialect, is perhaps so well adapted to rhetoric or to epic or tragic poetry. During the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II, the Spanish was the fashionable language of Europe. It was spoken at Paris, at Vienna, at Milan, and at Turin.* But about the commencement of the seventeenth century, the language as well as the fashions of France began to obtain the preeminence.

Literature.]—The literature of Spain is a copious subject, but too little known at present in other European countries.† During the Moorish domination, a great number of Arabian and Jewish authors of distinguished eminence flourished in that country. Since the first dawn of letters in Europe, the Spanish writers have been numerous, and equal in merit to their contemporaries. Isidore of Seville may be reckoned the father of Spanish literature. Alphonso the Wise, king

* Voltaire Hist. General de l'Europe, par 5.

† Lord Holland has rendered great service to the public, in making better known the merits of Spanish literature, by his valuable "Life of Lopez de Vega." And to Mr. Southey we are greatly indebted for an excellent translation of the celebrated Chronicle of the Cid.

of

of Castile in the thirteenth century, has already been mentioned as the compiler of the famous Alphonsine tables of Astronomy. He also wrote a celebrated treatise of philosophy under the three heads of physical, rational, and moral. John II, King of Castile in the fifteenth century, merits a name among the patrons and restorers of literature; and many of the early Spanish monarchs encouraged learning and genius. If we except natural philosophy, the progress of which has been checked by the terrors of the inquisition, the Spaniards of a more modern period have distinguished themselves in every department of literature. It is unnecessary to mention Cervantes, Quivedo, Santillana, Garcilasso, and Lopez de Vega, whose works are celebrated throughout Europe. The names of Boyer and Feejoo have recently attracted the attention and respect of the learned; and the line of royal authors has not yet failed, an elegant translation of Sallust having been published by the Prince of Asturias, heir apparent to the monarchy.

Polite arts.]—In the polite arts, the Spaniards have also discovered an elevated genius. The number of native painters is great, and their merits unquestionable. Many of their works adorn the magnificent churches and palaces of Spain, and are little, if any thing inferior to those of the celebrated Italian masters.

Education.]—In Spain, as in most other countries, the education of the lower classes appears to be neglected. But recent accounts throw so little light upon the subject, that conclusions can be drawn only from general existing circumstances. The neglect of travellers in making so few inquiries into the state of popular education, betrays a great want of observation in

in regard to the general history of mankind; but it is a much greater misfortune, that in almost all countries, Protestant and Catholic, so little attention is paid to a subject so important in its consequences.

Universities.]—Spain, however, may boast of upwards of twenty universities, of which, that of Salamanca is the most celebrated. But as the system of Aristotle in philosophy and logic, and that of Thomas Aquinas in theology, continue inviolate, neither this nor any of the other Spanish universities, can be supposed to contribute in any great degree to the advancement of knowledge. The distinguished merit of the Spanish writers, therefore, is rather the effect of native genius, than of previous instruction. After all, literature is far from being generally diffused in Spain. Publications are rare, in consequence of the inquisitorial restrictions, which have so long cramped the exertions of the human mind. In this respect Spain and Portugal are in the same predicament.

Manners and customs.]—The manners of the Spaniards are distinguished by their ceremonious formality. Since the accession of the family of Bourbon, a slight tincture of French manners has been blended with the Spanish gravity; but much less than might be expected; and the prohibition of slouched hands and long cloaks excited a serious insurrection. Cicisbeism is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Spanish, as well as of the Italian morals, only with this difference, that in Italy the Cicisbei are commonly gentlemen, but in Spain, very frequently monks and ecclesiastics. The bull fights have been justly regarded as a striking feature of the Spanish and Portugueze diversions. Every town of note in Spain and Portugal has a spacious square, destined to this amusement.

ment. The chief actors in the bull fights are the Picadors, mounted on horseback, and armed with lances, and the Chulos on foot. These two classes of assailants sustain and relieve each other in their attacks on the bull. Some of these are persons who make this their profession, and act for hire; others are young gentlemen and nobles, who thus exhibit their courage, and dexterity, and recommend themselves to their mistresses. The Matador finishes the scene, by dispatching the bull with a blow in the place where the spinal marrow joins to the head. Sometimes they throw a rope over his head, and entangle him in a strong net, after the manner of hunting wild bulls in America. The amusements of people of rank, consist chiefly in dancing and cards. The theatre is little frequented, and the mediocrity of the drama has already been mentioned. The siesta, or noon sleep, is universal in Spain and Portugal, during which time of repose all is as still as at midnight.

Persons and national character.]—The Spaniards are generally tall and strong, and less inclined to corpulence than any other people of Europe.* They are remarkably active and strong, extremely abstemious, and capable of bearing great extremes of heat and cold.† In regard to their genius enough has been said to shew, that in this respect the Spaniards are equal to any nation of the globe. The Spanish character is, on many accounts, highly respectable. Their intolerant bigotry has in a great measure subsided, as well as their furious jealousy. The most pernicious

* See comparison of the Spaniard and Portugueze, under the article Portugal. It is to be observed that black hair and black eyes are common to all the people of southern Europe.

† Link's Travels, p. 129.

trait

trait in the national character, is the pride of birth and ancestry, and the aversion which the nobility and gentry have to agriculture and trade. In 1787, when the whole population of Spain, according to the returns, amounted to 10,268,150, exclusive of the clergy, the kingdom contained no less than 480,589 hidalgos, or persons of noble birth; and of these 401,040 were in the provinces of the Asturias, Biscay, Gallicia, Burgos, and Leon.* Great numbers of those were undoubtedly very poor; but all too proud to engage in agricultural or commercial pursuits. This national pride, however, is counterbalanced by many excellent qualities. Generosity, courage, and greatness of mind, characterise the higher ranks of Spaniards; and their traders are celebrated for their integrity.

* Townsend's Travels, vol. 2, p. 213, 214.

END OF VOL. II.

Printed by James Cundée,
London.